

14

OBSERVATIONS

ON DIVERS

PASSAGES. OF SCRIPTURE. 2. L. d.

Placing many of them in a Light *altogether new* ;
Ascertaining the Meaning of several *not determinable* by the
Methods commonly made use of by the Learned ;
Proposing to Consideration *probable Conjectures* on others, different
from what have been hitherto recommended to the
Attention of the Curious ;
And more *amply illustrating* the rest than has been yet done, by
Means of Circumstances *incidentally* mentioned

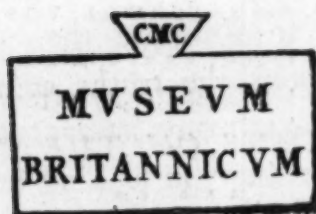
IN BOOKS OF
VOYAGES AND TRAVELS INTO THE EAST:
IN TWO ADDITIONAL VOLUMES.
TOGETHER WITH
A SPECIMEN OF SIMILAR
OBSERVATIONS ON THE CLASSICS,
AND ON
JOSEPHUS AND ST. JEROME.

-
- VOL. III. RELATING TO
- I. The *Weather* of JUDÆA.
 - II. Their *living in Tents* there.
 - III. It's *Houses* and Cities.
 - IV. The *Diet* of it's Inhabitants, &c.
 - V. Their Manner of travelling.
 - VI. The Eastern Methods of doing Persons Honour.

Sanctam Scripturam lucidius intuebitur, qui Judæam oculis contemplatus sit.
S. HIERON, in lib. Paralip. præfatio.

L O N D O N:
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M.DCC.LXXXVII.



OBSERVATIONS

O N

Divers Passages of HOLY SCRIPTURE.

CHAP. I.

Concerning the Weather in Judæa.

OBSERVATION I.

THE learned and ingenious Dr. Shaw has given us, in his book of Travels, one chapter, entitled, “ Physical Observations, &c. or, An Essay towards the Natural History of Syria, Phœnice, and the Holy-Land¹,” in which he tells us, “ the first rains, in these countries, usually fall about the beginning of *November*, O. S.²” But, as it should seem, he did not arrive in Syria or Phœnice ’till December³; that from thence, after travelling several weeks in these countries, he went by sea to Joppa, in order to go to Jerusalem the beginning of March⁴;

¹ P. 329, &c.

² P. 335.

³ P. 340.

⁴ In the same page.

that from Jerusalem he went northward to the river Kishon, where he was the middle of April¹; and that, consequently, it is not to be supposed he was in the Holy-Land in autumn: on these accounts, he cannot be admitted to speak, *from his own knowledge*, concerning the time of the descent of the first rains. Farther, as he does not tell us from whence he derived his information, and that we know he sometimes draws his accounts from what he *apprehends* is said in the scriptures, instead of illustrating those ancient representations by *modern observations*, as he doth, in particular, as to the quarter from which the wind is wont to blow when rain falls², and sometimes implicitly adopts the mistakes of our translators; I have been desirous to obtain a more satisfactory account of the weather in the Holy-Land, as to this point, in autumn and the beginning of the winter, than Dr. Shaw's, which was indeed exceeding *probable*, but not *decisive*.

I consulted for this purpose several books, but in vain, as to any direct and positive testimony concerning the descent of the first rains of the winter part of the year; but at length was so happy as to obtain the information I wanted, in a great measure, from the *manuscript Journal* of a gentleman, who was in these countries in the latter part of the year 1774. *From Cyprus he went to Tripoly,*

¹ P. 271.² P. 329.

where

where he landed October 11. On the 23^d of that month he landed at Acra, (which he considered as his entrance into the Holy-Land); and meeting with many hindrances from the exactions of the Arabs, and the difficulty of procuring protection, he got not to Jerusalem till the 4th of November. The first rains that are taken notice of in his Journal, after the summer drought, or which he could remember, fell on the 2^d and the 4th of November. On the first of those days he found some rain between Joppa and Ramah; and on the 4th of that month his Journal remarks, that they were nine hours and an half in the rain, which fell not constantly, but in heavy showers. He added, that the day after his arrival at Jerusalem (November 5) he was prevented from going out by rain, and that it continued unsettled weather until the 19th of that month, when he left that city, but which in the climate of Britain would have been deemed very good, as the rain fell not in large quantities, or without intermission, through the day.

This traveller then found the rain fell in the Holy-Land sooner than the beginning of November, O. S, for he found it descended on the second of November, N. S, which answers to the 22^d of October of the style Dr. Shaw made use of.

It is not unlikely that they might begin to fall still sooner in Judæa, since he found the peasants ploughing up their stubbles for wheat, as he passed through the vale of Esdraelon,

which appeared to him to be, probably, the best and most extensive spot of arable land in Palæstine, as, by what remained, the crop must have been very great, and, what was the more remarkable, had never received the least manure, or the soil been turned more than 6 inches in depth; for, according to Dr. Shaw¹, the Arabs do not begin to break up the ground to sow wheat, and plant beans, 'till after the falling of the first rains. He found them also ploughing, between Joppa and Jerusalem, with a guard attending them, to prevent their being robbed of the grain they were about to sow; a circumstance I have taken notice of in a preceding volume².

Agreeably to this supposition, of the still earlier fall of the rain in Palæstine than the 22d of October, O. S, Rauwolff tells us he found the *Hemerocallis* near Joppa, where he arrived the 13th of September, 1575, which Dr. Russell describes as a plant that makes not its appearance 'till after the first fall of the autumnal rain, and which town Rauwolff seems to have quitted the same day, before which, therefore, the rain must have fallen³.

But, be this as it may, it is indisputable that in 1774 it was found that the rain, in the Holy-Land, fell several days sooner than Dr. Shaw assigns for its first appearance, namely, November 2, N. S, or October 22,

¹ P. 137.

² Observ. on div. Pass. of Scrip. vol. 1. ch. 2. obs. 5.

³ Ray's Trav. p. 228.

O. S: in like manner I have been assured by the author of the History of the Révolt of *Ali Bey*, whom I consulted upon this matter, and who lived some years in Palæstine, though born in another part of the East, that the rains are wont to begin to fall in the Holy-Land about the latter end of September, O. S; to which he added, that in the year in which *Ali Bey* encamped at *Joppa*¹, the rain began to fall *before* the middle of September, O. S, he thought about the 7th.

This affords an additional ground of believing, that Russell's account of the weather at Aleppo may be considered as descriptive of that at *Jerusalem*, or very nearly so². Indeed, as to this point, the time of the first descent of the autumnal rain, the lying of one place to the South more than another, seems to make no great difference, if any at all: thus *Niebuhr* informs us, that he found August and September almost entirely serene at *Basra*, when he was there; that on the 7th of October clouds began to appear, and increased 'till the 27th, when the rainy season began with a storm³.

But to return to the Journal of 1774: The

¹ A. D. 1772.

² P. 42. "After the first rains in the autumn, the fields every where throw out the autumnal lily daffodil, and the few plants which had stood the summer now glow with fresh vigour." *Hemerocallis* is, I think, the Latin name for the autumnal lily daffodil.

³ Voy. en Arabie & en d'autres pays circonvoisins, tom. 2. p. 186.

gentleman that wrote it was told, that the rain, at that time, was more than usual at that season of the year, the rain generally preceding the frost, which was seldom earlier than Christmas, and then not to any excess. This information seems to amount to this, That daily rain was not usual so early in the year as the beginning of November, but that, in common, great wet was wont to be delayed until the approach of Christmas, at which time frosty weather was common, but usually with no great severity.

It may not be much amiss to add, that travellers have found the like copious rains in Galilee, about Christmas, that the people of Jerusalem spoke of. So Haynes, who visited several places in Galilee, in the year 1767, and arrived at Tiberias, on the sea of Genesareth, on the 29th of December of that year, found, that a few days before he arrived, there had fallen very heavy rains, which rendered the streets exceeding muddy, so much so, that in some places it was as high as their horses knees.

I would finish this article with observing, that, according to Josephus¹, copious rain descended about Jerusalem before the Feast of Tabernacles, in the year that Antiochus Pius besieged that city, the Pleiades being near setting, *δυσμενης πλειαδος*².

¹ P. 125, 126.

² Antiq. Lib. 13. cap. 8. §. 2. p. 657. Ed. Haverc.

³ That constellation actually sets the beginning of November.

OBSERVATION II.

The Jews seem to be at a great loss, when they would explain the ground of that ceremony of *pouring out water* with solemnity at the Feast of Tabernacles; of which ceremony Moses says nothing in the law, but to which our Lord is supposed to allude in the 7th of John, when “in the last day, that great day” of the feast, Jesus stood and cried, saying, “If any man thirst, let him come unto me, and drink. He that believeth on me, as the scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water. But this spake he of the spirit, which they that believe on him should receive¹.” It seems to be of late observance, and is not well accounted for.

That festival is described by Moses as a memorial of the dwelling of Israel in *Tents*, in the wilderness²; and also, as being a time of rejoicing, on account of the in-gathering of all the fruits of the earth, at the end of the year³: but no mention is made of its connexion with the *rains* that were then soon expected to follow, ’till after the return of the Jews from their captivity in Babylon. Then, indeed, the prophet Zechariah said, “It shall come to pass, that every one that

¹ V. 37, 38, 39.² Lev. 23. 43.³ Deut. 16. 13—16.

“ is left of all the nations which came against
 “ Jerusalem, shall even go up, from year to
 “ year, to worship the King the Lord of
 “ Hosts, and to keep the Feast of Tabernacles. And it shall be, that whoso will not
 “ come up, of all the families of the earth,
 “ unto Jerusalem, to worship the King the
 “ Lord of Hosts, even upon them *shall be no*
 “ *rain*.” Here, it seems, that the attending
 the Feast of Tabernacles is connected with
 the obtaining the *rains of autumn*, which are
 of such consequence after the drought of a
 Syrian summer; and therefore probably this
 rite then obtained, and the pouring out water
 in the Temple, with solemnity, as before
 God, understood to be a religious prognostic
 of the approach of rain, or a *morally* instru-
 mental and procuring cause of it's speedy
 coming.

Rabbi Akibah, according to Dr. Lightfoot²,
 giveth this reason for the pouring out the
 water at this time: *The Law saith, Bring*
an omer of barley at the Passover, for that is
the season of barley, that the corn may be
blessed. Bring wheat and the first-fruits at
Pentecost, which was the season of trees, that
the fruit of trees may be blessed unto thee,
Bring the libation of water at the Feast of Ta-
bernacles, that the showers may be blessed to
thee. And accordingly it is said, that who-
soever will not come to the Feast of Tabernacles
shall have no rain.

¹ Ch. 14. 16, 17.

² Works, vol 2, p. 978.

There is something pleasing in this account, but it will hardly bear examination. Pentecost was the time of presenting the first-fruits of the *wheat*, as the Passover was of the barley, but not of the *trees*, at least not of the most important of them; for the *vine*, the *olive*, the *fig*, and the *pomegranate*, had not then produced their fruit¹. The first fruits, however, of these trees were presented² perhaps at this Feast of Tabernacles, but the water could not be considered in a similar light, for the water that was presented was not the first of the rain-water of that autumn, but what *remained of the rains of the preceding season*. Rabbi Akibah then should not have classed the water of this libation, with other things that were the *first fruits* of the mercies they *had* received from God. Akibah's account, however, is far preferable to that of *Maimonides*, which follows immediately after in *Lightfoot*.

The *truest* account perhaps is, that this rite was derived from the *Persians*, and other neighbouring nations, among whom they dwelt in the time of their captivity, but *more properly* applied.

Abrix, according to d'Herbelot³, signifies in Persian a *vessel proper for the pouring out of water*, from whence is formed the word

¹ Dr. Richard Chandler found *wheat harvest* and *almonds*, so far ripened as to be agreeable to eat, were coincident things in Greece. Trav. p. 207, 209, 211.

² Deut. 26,

³ P. 17,

Abrixán,

Abrizán, or *Abrizghán*, which is the name of a feast, that the old Persians solemnized on the 13th day of the month *Tir*, which nearly corresponds with our month of *September*, with abundance of idolatrous superstitions: but the Persians of our times, who are become Mohammedans, have retained nothing more of this festival than the asperision of rose or orange-flower water, with which they regale one another, in the visits they make each other that day, which commonly falls out about the autumnal æquinox.

This ancient heathenish festival, whose name signifies the pouring out of water, and was apparently preparatory to the descent of the rain in those countries, being about the time of the autumnal æquinox, has been adopted by the Mohammedans in part, who are as zealous against every thing of an idolatrous nature as the Jews could ever have been: Might not the returning Jews then think of adding some memorial of *Jehovah's* being the Giver of Rain, to that ancient national solemnity that had been enjoined by Moses, to be observed just about the same time of the year with that of the Persian festival, which that people with solemnity ascribed to some deity they worshipped, but which the Jews knew was the gift of *Jehovah*?

We all know how readily the Christians, of the countries that lie West of the meridian
of

of Jerusalem, adopted many of the religious practices of their unconverted countrymen; and though we may not have been *equally* apprized of it, the Mohammedans of the more Eastern parts of the world have frequently done the same. Might not the Jews be influenced by some of the same motives? Human nature is much the same in all parts of the world.

The Mohammedans of Persia, in like manner, now observe the first day of every new year, according to the reckoning of their ancient heathen countrymen, namely the precise day in which the sun enters into Aries, which is in March. This is a way of computation of the year quite different from that their religion has taught them, according to which their New-Year's day is moveable, and falls out in length of time in all seasons, autumn as well as spring, summer as well as winter. For some time, we are told by Sir John Chardin¹, the Mohammedans of this country would not observe the first day of the *solar* year, out of opposition to those that persisted in their old country worship of *fire*, considering it as consecrated by them to the *Sun*, which they thought was idolatrous, and therefore abhorred all public rejoicing that day. But at length, the lucky circumstance of one of their princes happening to succeed to the crown that day, revived

¹ Voyages, tome I. p. 171.

the observation, and it is now celebrated with great splendor; the exact time of the entering of the sun into this sign of the zodiac being observed by their astronomers with great care. And with the greatest joy an old custom is revived, of presenting one another with *painted and gilded eggs*, some of them being so curiously done as to cost three ducats apiece¹. This it seems was a very ancient custom in Persia, an egg being expressive of the origin and beginning of things.

Nor is this the only instance that this ingenious traveller remarked; for he tells us in another page², that the 1st October was a festival, called by the Persians the *Luminous Night*, in which God is disposed in a special manner to attend to their prayers, and is accordingly spent by their devout people in reading and in prayer. He adds, that it is believed to have been instituted in lieu of another, very much like it, which was observed by the old Persians the 16th of the month Bahmen, which was called the *Festival of Lights*, the solemnity consisting principally of *illuminations* and *bonfires*, kept up, according to their circumstances, through the whole night.

An attention to what has happened of late times in Persia, may probably dispose us to imagine, that the like might happen

¹ Seven or eight and twenty shillings.

² Tome 3. p. 191.

to the Jewish captives, and that they might be disposed, at their return, to join the Persian custom of pouring out water with solemnity about the time of the autumnal æquinox, a little before the rains were expected to fall, to the Mosaic Feast of Tabernacles, which was solemnized about the same time of the year.

I will only add, that if they presented water at all to God, it was to be done, according to the spirit of their Law, by solemnly pouring it out before him; so, according to the institutions of Moses, *blood*, which was sacred to God, was poured out before him: and by presenting things to God, they were taught to acknowledge they received them from him. Consequently, though it was not commanded, the pouring out water before God, when they implored the descent of rains, was not abhorrent from their other usages.

After all, it is very possible that the occasional pouring out water before God, with a view to the obtaining rain from him, in times of drought, by such a solemn acknowledgment that they considered it as his gift, might be practised long before the captivity in Babylon, and before it's becoming an *annual ceremony*. Thus we find, when Israel assembled at Mizpeh, bewailing their preceding idolatries, "*they drew water, and poured it out before the Lord, and fasted on*"
" that

“ that day, and said there, We have sinned
“ against the Lord.” 1 Sam. vii. 6.

“ I do not know that any of the commentators have supposed, that this pouring out water at Mizpeh before the Lord was supplicatory, and expressive of their praying for rain; but if it is *admitted*, that the pouring out water afterwards, at the Feast of Tabernacles, had a relation to rain, I think it can be no *improbable* conjecture, that it had a like signification in the time of the prophet *Samuel*. We know, by undoubted evidence, that Judæa was liable to suffer by drought ¹, and that God threatened to punish them for their sins by the want of rain ²; on the other hand, something particular, it is to be supposed, was the occasion of rousing them from a stupor that had lasted 20 years ³, and no fresh distress from the Philistines, *previous* to the meeting at Mizpeh, is insinuated. *Thunder*, which was granted in consequence of the prayers of Samuel ⁴, is represented by Russell as frequently the forerunner of rain in those countries ⁵; and Jehovah had claimed the sole power of giving rain, in contradistinction from idols ⁶, and had directed them to pray

¹ 1 Kings, 17. 1. Amos, 4. 7, &c.

² Deut. 11.

¹ 1 Kings, 8. 35.

³ 1 Sam. 7. 2.

⁴ V. 9, 10.

⁵ P. 165. See Obs. on divers Pass. of Scrip. ch. 1. obs. 20.

⁶ Job 5. 8, 9, 10. Deut. 11. 14, 17. And how these passages were understood and explained to the Jewish people, appears from Jer. 14. 22. “ Are there any among “ the vanities of the Gentiles that can cause rain? or “ can the heavens give showers?”

with

with solemnity for that mercy, when they were brought to repent of their idolatries¹, which might naturally be supposed to induce them, on the exhortations of *Samuel*, to gather together for humiliation and prayer before God at Mizpeh, and to pour out water before him, in acknowledgment that they admitted it was his gift alone, and that all their hopes were derived from his mercy.

OBSERVATION III.

Dr. Shaw seems to suppose, that the *Arabs of Barbary* do not begin to break up their grounds 'till the first rains of autumn fall²; but as the Journal of 1774 makes mention of ploughing the ground, before it mentions the fall of the autumnal rains, so the author of the History of Ali Bey's Revolt, in his conversation with me on that subject, supposed they *sometimes* plough the land before the descent of rain, the soil being light and capable of being stirred without difficulty.

There is nothing incredible in this: grain will lie long in the earth unhurt, and spring up upon the coming of rain, as is often experienced in England. The like ploughing and sowing may be practised in the East in

¹ So God afterwards explained to Solomon, 2 Chron. 7. 12—14, the *less-strictly expressed precept* given by Moses, and the promise of forgiveness upon their repentance, Lev. 26. 19, 20, 40, 41, 42.

² P. 137.

expectation of rain, and indeed seems to be referred to by Solomon, Eccl. xi. 4. “*He that observeth the wind, shall not sow; and he that regardeth the clouds, shall not reap.*” If the earth was always moistened with rain when they sowed their grain, there would be no occasion to observe the wind, whether it was from a quarter that was wont to produce rain, or such as usually brought fair weather; but if grain was sown previous to the coming of the rain, but in expectation of it, they might naturally enough be induced to wait ’till they saw the signs of it’s *approach*, particularly the blowing of the wind that was wont to bring rain, and not sow ’till those signs at least appeared.

OBSERVATION IV.

The same obliging gentleman, who favoured me with the preceding account of the rainy nature of the weather when he was at Jerusalem, in the month of November, 1774, informed me, at the same time, that “the wind that *usually* brings rain there is the *north-east*.” This, I apprehend, is to be understood of the rainy weather of the *beginning* of the winter, not of that of the *spring*, which probably comes from another quarter.

I was somewhat surprized, I own, when I first received this account, since our Lord says, Luke xii. 54. “When ye see a cloud
“ rise

“rise out of the *West*, straightway ye say,
 “there cometh a *shower*; and so it is:”
 and especially as this very late visitant of the
 Holy-Land appears to me, to have been care-
 ful in making his observations, and accurate
 in communicating them.

But upon consulting Dr. Russell, on the
 weather at *Aleppo*, I find that the *winds there*
are variable in November, seldom strong, but
more inclined to the North and East than any
*of the other quarters*¹. He gives the same
 account of the *direction* of the winds in De-
 cember² and January³. Concerning *Fe-*
bruary, he says, “the winds are much as
 “in the preceding month, ‘till towards the
 “end, and then it sometimes blows hard *west-*
 “*erly*”⁴. As to *March*, that “the winds are
 “stronger than in the preceding months,
 “and blow much oftener *westerly*”⁵. *April*
 is, “in general, fair, *clear* weather
 “seldom dark or *cloudy*, except when it
 “rains, which it does in hard thunder-
 “showers, as in the last month, but not
 “so often. There are commonly a few
 “close, hazey days; these happen when
 “there are light breezes *northerly or easterly*,
 “but the winds *in general* are fresh *west-*
 “*erly*”⁶. In *May* the wind is sometimes
 northerly or easterly, but “for much the
 “greater part is fresh, and *westerly*”⁷.

¹ P. 156.² P. 157.³ P. 148.⁴ P. 149.⁵ P. 150.⁶ In the same page.⁷ P. 151.

The observations then this gentleman lately made himself at Jerusalem, and which, from his way of writing, seem to have been conformable to what had been usually observed by those that resided in that country, concerning the *direction of the wind* there in the time of the beginning of the winter's rain, perfectly agree with Dr. Russell's account of the weather at Aleppo at that season. But at Aleppo the wind alters in the rainy season, and begins to blow from the West in February, and continues to do so till May, after which seldom any more rain falls at Aleppo 'till autumn, when the wind is commonly North-easterly.

This very fresh account from Jerusalem then confirms the supposition, that the weather is much the same in Judæa as at Aleppo, and serves to determine that our Lord made this observation to the people in the spring, his words being a description of the weather, the wind and the rain, as it is in the spring, not as it is in the close of autumn, or the beginning of winter.

The lilies then, which are mentioned in the 27th verse of this chapter of Luke, might be growing, at that very time, before the eyes of his auditors. How far this observation may be useful, to those that endeavour nicely to determine the time of our Lord's ministry upon the whole, or the particular seasons when any of the events happened

pened which the Evangelists have recorded, I leave to the examination of my readers.

OBSERVATION V.

I remarked in a preceding volume¹, that ingenious travellers have supposed the *kind of cloud* which the servant of Elijah saw (like a man's hand) is a *natural prognostic* of rain, and observed as such in the *East* at this day; perhaps it may be so in the *West* too.

For a very learned, ingenious, and observing clergyman in Suffolk made this memorandum, on reading the paragraph I have referred to: "I saw a cloud *like a man's hand*, " on an high hill at Beachborough in Kent, " and immediately followed by a violent " shower, then fair again."

Yet I believe the *figure of the cloud*, seen at Mount Carmel, is commonly considered as an *unmeaning* circumstance in the prophetic history, for want of due observation.

OBSERVATION VI.

St. Jerome has appeared to be so careless and inaccurate, in his accounts relating to the natural history of Judæa, that I have expressed myself with some doubt, as to the time he assigns for the *Vintage* of that country, in

¹ Observ. vol. I. ch. I. obs. 15.

the 21st observation of the 1st chapter of a preceding volume¹; but it appears from this late account (of 1774) that he was sufficiently exact upon this subject, and that the vintage of Judæa is not earlier than at Aleppo.

St. Jerome placed it in the end of September or beginning of October. This gentleman accordingly found, that in the year 1774 it did not begin till the middle of October, N. S.

The vintage and olive-gathering, it should seem, are coincident, or nearly so, for Sig. Lufignan told me the last, in the Holy-Land, is wont to be in the latter end of September, O. S.

Consequently there could be but just time, in common, to gather in all the fruits of the earth, and for the Israelites to have returned home to their several countries, from celebrating the Feast of Tabernacles at Jerusalem, before the rain began to descend.

As the Jews were frequently obliged to intercalate their years, on account of the backwardness of the spring, with regard to their *barley*, their *lambs*, and their *pigeons*², so I think I have somewhere found it affirmed, that they were cautious, not *unnecessarily* to admit of an intercalation, lest their people should not be able to get home

¹ Of the 2d ed.

² See Lightfoot, on Matt. 12. 1. vol. 2, p. 185.

from the Feast of Tabernacles before the rains fell¹.

This implies two things: that the rain might be expected to fall soon after the Feast of Tabernacles; and that the autumnal rain would incommode them in journeying.

One might have supposed, from the account Dr. Russell gives of the extreme pleasantness of the season after the first rains of autumn have fallen², that this would have been no disagreeable circumstance to those Jews that had far to travel: but I would remark, that Rauwolff complains of being *retarded* in his journey by the autumnal rains; and others have mentioned their frequently lodging, in travelling, under trees, without any other defence against rain which might fall, as it often does there in the night, and in very heavy showers³. To this is to be added, the consideration that the autumnal rains are generally preceded by a squall, in the nature of a whirlwind, a day or two before the first rains fall⁴, which must make travelling extremely disagreeable, in countries where the soil is so often very light and sandy.

The complaint of Rauwolff, which I was mentioning, is in the beginning of his 5th ch. part 1, where he tells us, that he and

¹ Though not mentioned by Reland, in his account of their cautiousness in intercalating their years, in his *Antiq. Sacræ*, p. 4. cap. 1.

² *Descript. of Aleppo*, p. 14.

³ P. 148.

⁴ P. 154.

his companions set out for Aleppo from *Tripolis* the 9th of November. "By the way we met with a great deal of rain, which commonly begins at that time of the year, and continueth almost all the winter long. This kept us so much back, that we reached not to *Damant*, which is in the midway from *Tripolis* to Aleppo, before the 4th day." *Tripolis* lies in the common way from *Jerusalem* to Aleppo and to *Antioch*, and other places to the North: many Jews had to travel South-westward, through the Deserts, to *Ægypt*; but perhaps the most of them Eastward and North-eastward to *Babylon*, to *Mesopotamia*, to *Media*, and elsewhere that way, where they dwelt in great numbers, and had very flourishing settlements.

If the first rains did not fall in the road from *Tripolis* to Aleppo 'till the 9th of November, 1573, O. S., it certainly began a fortnight sooner in Judæa itself in the year 1774; and Niebuhr found the rainy season began with a storm, on the 27th of October, at *Basra*¹.

Rain certainly falls from time to time in the Desert between Judæa and *Ægypt*², but how early it begins to fall there in autumn, I do not remember to have seen mentioned in any traveller; but if a preceding remark I have made in this volume be true³, namely,

¹ Voy. tome 2. p. 186, and Obs. 1. of this vol.

² *Gesta Dei*, p. 1010, 1011.

³ Obs. 1.

that

that the being situated *more or less towards the South*, in those countries that seldom have any rain all summer, and expect none 'till autumn, makes very little, if any difference as to the time of the falling of those rains, the rain might overtake the Ægyptian Jews in passing over that Desert, as well as those that lived in other countries, if the Feast of Tabernacles was too long delayed : for in all these different countries the rain, it should seem, falls *much about* the same time.

In confirmation of which, I would add to the observations of Russell at Aleppo, and of Niebuhr at Basra near 6 degrees more to the South, the account of what Pietro della Vallé found in the Desert by the Euphrates, in his way to Baghdad. *Departing from Anna, October 11th, 1616, they pursued their voyage on the Mesopotamian side of the river, and found rain for the first time in this their journey the evening of that day, which was attended with a wind so violent and furious as that it overturned all their tents : but that storm did not continue long, being over in less than an hour* ^a.

Through this Desert great numbers of Jews must have had to pass in their way to Babylon, and many other towns in the southern part of Mesopotamia, and on the Tigris; and such storms of wind as should *overturn their tents*, in the midst of an heavy shower, must have been very inconvenient.

^a Lett. 17.

OBSERVATION VII.

That the frost and cold are, in *some* winters, very severe at *Jerusalem*, and even in some of the *lower parts of Judaea*, appears from *Vinisauf*, who *confirms* the account, that rain or snow are not uncommon in the *middle* of winter at *Jerusalem*; that they are sometimes in *very great quantities*; and the cold *very severe*.

For speaking of a consultation among the *Crusaders*, a few days after Epiphany (January 6th) 1192¹, whether they should immediately make an attempt on *Jerusalem*, or postpone it's recovery to a more advantageous time, he tells us the *Turks*, who had shut themselves up in *Jerusalem*, were, at that time, in a very distressed state, *oppressed by excessive snow and hail, which, melting, occasioned great torrents from the mountains, sweeping away their horses and cattle in droves, and killing others with the violence of the cold*².

It appears from hence, that a bridge over the brook *Kedron* may be very requisite,

¹ In the printed copy it is by mistake MCXXII, but it is certain that MCXCII is the year meant.

² *Turci quippe, qui intra Jerusalem civitatem se cohibebant, perniciosissimis angustabantur suppliciis multimodis; nivium enim et grandium (grandinum) opprimebantur nimietate, ex quarum nihilominus resolutionibus aquarum diluvium à montanis defluens, equos eorum et jumenta catervatim involvit, vel certe frigoris asperitas necavit.* P. 373.

though.

though it's bed should be found to be often dry in *winter as well as summer*, since if the torrent was, at the time Vinisauf speaks of, so very destructive, it must be supposed to be often so considerable as to make a bridge very necessary.

A few days after, it appears by the succeeding page, the cold was so severe at Ramula, whose situation is lower and less exposed to the *severity of the weather*, that the waters were so frozen as to make the travelling of beasts of burden very troublesome. It was not, however, so great as to prevent their sinking in muddy places.

It appears in the next chapter, but same page, that soon after, in removing from thence, King Richard found the ways so dirty as to be extremely fatiguing. But the next morning's journey made them forget the difficulties of the preceding day: *for the frozen snow driving in their faces, thick storms of hail descended with so much force as to rebound with violence, the rains occasioned such torrents, as that there seemed to be a concurrence of every circumstance that tended to overwhelm them, the boggy ground at the same time giving way so much as to occasion the horses to fall, and many of them to perish*.

At

' Fessi nimirum dum proficiscerentur, gelidæ nives impluunt vultibus, grandinum densitates reverberant, pluviae torrentes involvunt, ut tanquam ad examinandum omne cælum deputaretur affligendis, sed et terra pedibus cedebat

At length, after much distress, they arrived at Ascalon the 20th January. This sharp weather then was in the lowlands, at Ramula, and the road from thence to Ascalon, and happened between the 6th and 20th of January.

It appears from circumstances, for the times are not distinctly marked, that the following descriptions relate to the preceding month of *December*, or at farthest the *last* days of *November*. The first of them occurs in p. 369, where he tells us, *that the army under King Richard being encamped between St. George's¹ and Ramula, expecting more troops as well as provisions, they continued there 22 days, exposed not only to frequent attacks, but to the rains, which became so heavy as to force them to retire, some to St. George's, some to Ramula.*

Proceeding in his account, and describing their going to the foot of the hilly part of the country towards Jerusalem, he informs us, *that at that time most heavy rains fell, and the air was very severe, so that very many of their beasts perished; that the rains, storms of hail, and winds were so vehement, that the stakes of their tents were torn up, and*

cedebat ambulantium cœnulenta, locis palustribus decidunt veredarii equi et homines, qui, dum sollicitius toto conamine elaborant emergere, desperabilius revolvuntur in præceps, quamplurimi non amplius evasuri. O quis æstimet illius amaritudinem dici?

¹ Or Lydda.

carried

carried to a distance ; that by the extremity of the cold and wet their horses perished, and the greatest part of their victuals was spoiled—their biscuit being soaked through, and their bacon decayed ; their arms dreadfully rusted, and their clothes greatly damaged¹, p. 371.

Such is the description this writer gives us of the *December* of the year 1191, and of the following *January*, as they found the weather in that country ; and as no intimation is given to the contrary, we are to suppose Vinisaufr believed there was nothing very unusual in it, but that he apprehended such were the winters, very frequently, of that country.

So this writer describes the preceding winter as being *very wet*, which was the cause of great sickness among the Pilgrims, *unheard-of rains pouring down very frequently, nay continually, and causing inundations*².

How agreeable would it be, if some accurate observers would examine, by means of exact

¹ Tunc nobis ingruebant pluvix gravissimæ, et aeris intemperies sævissima ; unde jumentorum nostrorum perire quamplurima, tanta quippe exorta est tempestas pluviarum, grandinum, ventorumque vehementium irruebant fragores, ut papilionum palos avellerent, et longius dejicerent ; et equi, frigoris magnitudine, et nimietate aquarum perirent, et pars maxima victualium panis biscuitus distemperabatur in dissolutionem, et carnes suillæ, vulgariter bacones, putrescebant, &c.

² P. 294. Præterea, ex nimia imbrium inundatione, quedam nimium vehemens excrevit in hominibus infirmitas ; inaudita quidem pluvix assidue, imo continue, exercitum tanta affectit injuria, &c.

ombrometers,

ombrometers, the quantity of rain wont to fall in the Holy-Land, of which this ancient writer makes such heavy complaints !

The vehemence of the wind is, we see, frequently mentioned in these accounts of the heaviness of the rains. This circumstance is also mentioned by this writer, or some other, whose account of the taking Damiata, in the year 1219, is subjoined to the history of the expedition of Richard I.

There we are told, that in a preceding excursion ¹ into the Holy-Land, when the Patriarch and the Cross were not present, they suffered many difficulties and hardships, partly from robbers, and partly from the disagreeableness of the winter season, particularly in their travelling on Christmas Eve, and in the succeeding sacred night, in which they had *to go through an heavy land-tempest of wind and rain. This, it seems, happened when they were in the borders of Tyre and Sidon, near Sareptà* ².

Vinisauf, however, admits that the summers of that country are wont to be dry ; for, towards the end of his history, he observes, that by the advice of the most judicious of those whom they consulted, they were obliged to give over the design of besieging *Jerusalem* in the summer of the year 1192, because he tells us *The Festival of*

¹ In the year 1217. ² P. 437.

St. John ' was at hand, when all things were naturally dry, the heat increasing, especially about Jerusalem, which is seated in the mountainous part of the country; and that the Turks had stopped up all the cisterns on every side of the city, so that no water that was drinkable could be come at within two miles².

It has been confirmed too by those that have lived in these countries, notwithstanding the severe cold that is sometimes felt there, that unless *particular winds* blow, it is perfectly pleasant sitting with the chamber-windows open, in the Christmas holydays, as I have been assured by a very curious, inquisitive, and learned clergyman, who had the account of this circumstance from Dr. Shaw, from a Turkey merchant who had lived at Smyrna or Aleppo, and from an English chaplain even at Leghorn.

OBSERVATION VIII.

Dr. Russell says, the *most delicate* at Aleppo make no fires till the end of November, but he gives no account of the time in which they are wont to *leave off* the use of them: it gave me pleasure then, when I observed an article in d'Herbelot, which represented the close of the month of February as putting an end, in common, to the lighting their fires for the purpose of warming themselves.

¹ Midsummer,

² P. 408,

This article of the *Bibliothèque Orientale* is that on the word *Schabath*, which is in short as follows: *Schabath* is the name of a month of the *Calendar of the Syro-Macedonians*, which corresponds to our month of *February*. . . . In this calendar the 2d day of the month is marked, as the feast called by the Arabs *Aid Schemâ*, which is Candlemas-day. The 7th day of the month is called there *Socouth gioumrat aouel*, or the first *putting out of the firebrand*. The 14th is its *second extinction*; and the third falls on the 21st of the same month, and is reckoned the *end of winter*.

He adds, that the 26th of the same month of *Schabath* is the first of the seven days that the Arabs call *Aiam âgioux*, the days of the *Old Man*, which solemnity takes in the first days of their month of *Adbar*, which is our month of *March*.

I have in another article taken some notice of the last-mentioned solemnity, and the manner in which *winter* is represented on that occasion; what I would observe here is, that fires for warming themselves were, according to this Syrian calendar, to be laid aside, in common, some time in this month, and, at latest, by the close of it.

This account of d'Herbelot agrees with that of the author of the history of the revolt of Ali Bey, who is a Greek, and who, in conversation, casually observed that spring is reckoned to begin February 17, O. S.

It gave me the more pleasure when I found this enlarged account of *Schabath* in *d'Herbelot*, as many of the other months of the Syro-Macedonian calendar are barely mentioned by him, without any distinctive notes of a philosophical or æconomical nature.

OBSERVATION IX.

I have in a preceding volume shewn, that those that dwell at present in the Holy-Land, continue the use of fires to warm them, far into the year; I would now make it appear, that it is not without reason that they practise this.

Under the 7th obs. of the 1st chapter, I produced some citations from Bp. Pococke's Travels, which shewed that an Arab had a fire in the tent, in which he was entertained, the night of the 17th of March; and that a fire was made for his use by one of the Sheiks of Galilee, so late as the 8th May. This may appear to us surprizing, but it is confirmed in part by *Doubdan*; and the reason of it is clearly explained by him, as to the whole of it.

Doubdan, travelling in the evening of the 28th of March, N. S. from Jaffa (or Joppa) to Rama, tells us he passed near two or three companies of Arabs, "who were watching
" their flocks, making a great noise, sing-
" ing and rejoicing about many fires which
" they

“ they had made in the plain, and a number of dogs, who, perceiving our being near to them, did not cease from growling, barking, and giving us apprehension of being discovered, and falling into the hands of these robbers ¹. ”

Perhaps it may be thought that these fires, and all this noise, might be made to intimidate beasts of prey, which they might be apprehensive were about, and watching an opportunity of making depredations on their flocks; it is possible it might be so. The warmth however of these fires must have been comfortable to themselves, who were watching in the *open air*, since Doubdan complains of his lodging that night at Rama, where the procurator of the Holy-Land did not treat them with the greatest tenderness, “ but contented himself with putting us into a miserable room, where there were only the four walls, giving us nothing but a mat to lie upon, a stone for a pillow, and no coverlid but the broken cieling, which exposed us to the weather, which was not the most favourable at that season, as the *nights are always extremely cool* ². ” Yet the heat of the preceding day was so great, that it was assigned as one reason why they waited some hours at Joppa, in a poor Greek hovel, before they set out for Rama ³.

¹ Voy. de la Terre Sainte, p. 42.

² P. 43.

³ P. 40.

But

But the account he gives of his situation at Tyre, is much stronger still. On the 16th of May they found the heat near Tyre so great, that, though it seems they took their repast on the grass, under a large tree, by the side of a small river¹, yet he complains of their being burnt up alive, and they were obliged to continue in that situation 'till 6 or 7 in the afternoon, when they returned to their bark; but the wind failing, and the seamen not to be persuaded to row, they could get no farther than the rocks and ruins of Tyre, when night overtook them². Near those ruins they were obliged to pass a considerable part of the night, *not without suffering greatly from the cold, which was as violent and sharp as the heat of the day had been burning*. He goes on, "I am sure I shook as in the depth of winter, more than two or three full hours;" to which he adds, their being quite wetted with a rime extremely *thick and cold*, which fell upon them all night. To this he subjoins³, that the worst was, that they were in the hands of 4 or 5 fishermen, who did nothing but throw their nets into the sea, often with no success, in the mean while *roasting* us in the day-time in the sun, and almost making us *to perish with cold* in the night, without at all getting forward.

¹ P. 531.² P. 532.³ P. 540, 541.

This was at Tyre, which, ¹if not to be reckoned in the limits of the Holy-Land, is but just out of them ¹; and was in the night between the 16th and 17th of May. A fire in the night then, in the middle of May, might be very requisite, and highly acceptable. The complaint made by Jacob, relating to *Mesopotamia*, being equally applicable to the Holy-Land: “In the day the
“drought consumed me, and the frost by
“night ².”

The very different managements, occasioned by the great difference in the temperature of the air in the day and in the night season, may occasion some perplexity in the minds of common readers undoubtedly, since it has done so in the thoughts of some of the learned, and is therefore a circumstance that ought to be well fixed in the memory.

Thus Mr. Biddulph, chaplain to the English factory at Aleppo, expresses his surprise at finding the weather so warm at Jerusalem, at that same time of the year that he was there, when those that had been out in the night to seize our Lord wanted a fire. “We being there, at the same season
“of the year, found it exceeding hot, and
“*hotter* than it is usually at *Midsummer*
“in England. It seemed strange to me,
“how it should *then* be so cold, that Peter
“should creep to the fire, and now (at the

¹ See Josh. 19. 29.

² Gen. 31. 40.

“ same

“ same season) so hot that we could not
“ endure the heat of the sun. But
“ after we had been there a few days, the
“ very place resolved the doubt ¹.

The *extinction then of fires* in the month *Schabat*, mentioned in the preceding article, is to be understood only to relate to the day-time, not to those that sit up all night, or far into the night; *they* may in that country itself want a fire in the middle of May, while, in common, fires may be left off by the end of February, it growing warm in the day-time by the end of that month, generally speaking, but the nights being very cold, at least in some places in or near the Holy-Land, months after.

OBSERVATION X.

It appears also, from a circumstance mentioned by Sandys, that severe as the winters about Jerusalem sometimes are, an observation in a preceding volume ² is certainly true, namely, that they are *forwarder there than we are in England, about two months in the spring*. For Sandys, it seems, found *roses* growing wild, and in plenty, in the close

¹ For he found it cold, by experience, when he slept in the fields all night. Collect. of Voy. and Trav. from the Library of the Earl of Oxford, p. 821, vol. 1.

² Chap. 1. obs. 21. See also the outlines of a New Commentary on Sol. Song, p. 147, &c.

of March, O. S¹, as he was travelling in that part of Judæa, where it is supposed John the Baptist lived, not far from Jerusalem; whereas June is the common time with us for the blossoming of the rose, and particularly of those that grow wild in our hedges, which come into flower about the same time that those species do that are cultivated in our gardens.

What is nearly a confirmation of this, may be found in Doubdan's Journey to the Holy-Land; for, speaking of his coming out of the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, on the 21st of April, N. S. (or 10th, O. S.) he says, *Many Turks and Moors were in the court-yard, of whom some presented them with nosegays of small flowers, others with roses fresh gathered, others, who had bottles of rose-water, sprinkled their faces and clothes with it: all to get some maidins from them*². These roses continued to blow in such plenty in April, that he tells us, that on the 28th of that month, when the Eastern Christians made one of their processions in that church, which lasted at least two hours, *many men attended it with sacks full of leaves of roses, which they threw by great handfuls on the people, and indeed in such prodigious quantities, as that many were quite covered with*

¹ Two or three days, it should seem, before the month ended, and consequently about the 8th of April, N. S. he mentions his passing "thorow valleys, of their roses voluntarily plentiful."

² P. 264.

them,

them, and the pavement all strewed over. There were also others with bottles of rose-water, which they threw every where upon people's faces and clothes, with inexpressible rejoicings¹.

It may be remarked, that as roses were so extremely plentiful, they could not be the earliest of that country, but had been some time in blossom. Accordingly he observes, that on the 15th of April he found, in an old nunnery at Jerusalem, now converted into a mosque, a number of small odoriferous shrubs, such as rosemary, rose-bushes, laurels, jessamines, and other flowers extremely agreeable². This implies that the rose-bushes were in flower, and also the jessamine, which, though it's flowers are contemporary with roses, yet doth not, I think, begin to blossom quite so soon as the rose-bush.

So then both the rose-bush and the jessamine furnish additional proofs, that at Jerusalem they are six weeks or two months earlier, as to the spring, than we are.

May we suppose, that as rose-leaves now are the things that are made use of, to strew the pavement about the sepulchre of our Lord, they were used in that procession that almost immediately preceded his death, of which the Evangelists have given an account, particularly St. Mark and St. Matthew? "Many spread their garments in the way: and others cut down branches off

¹ P. 351.

² P. 225.

“ *the trees*, and strowed (them) in the way ¹.”
 If rose-bushes grew there, on Mount Olivet, they might very naturally cut off branches full of roses, and shaking them, strew the path of our Lord with the beautiful, but untenacious leaves of those flowers. The word *them*, in our version, which seems to refer to the branches themselves, it is to be remembered, is not in the original, but a supplement of our translators.

OBSERVATION XI.

Signior Lufignan, in the conversation I had with him about the Holy-Land, assured me, that the time of *sheep-shearing* in that country is *March*, and towards the *beginning* of that month, O. S; which is another proof, that they are about six weeks, or two months, forwarder in that country than we are in England, for the washing many of the sheep this year ², in the village in Suffolk in which I am writing this, preparatory to the clipping the wool off them, was the 17th of *May*.

The ingenious Dr. Aikin, in his Calendar of Nature, lately published, throws *sheep-shearing* into *June*; and though he makes it one of the earliest of the rural employments of that month, yet one of the tokens

¹ Mark 11. 8. Matt. 21. 8.

² 1785.

to mark out the time, given by *Dyer*, whom the Doctor quotes, is when the

—————Verdant *elder* spreads
Her silver flowers;

which is not, at least was not, this year 'till the *middle* of June, which would make *sheep-shearing* three months earlier in the Holy-Land than it is with us; but *Dyer's* prescription is not followed by us as to the time of performing this operation, nor, it seems, by the Arabs of Palæstine.

The account I have given of the time of sheep-shearing there, may be confirmed by testimonies of a different kind, which it may not be disagreeable to set down here.

Aristophanes, the old Greek comic writer, supposes, that among the æconomical uses to be derived from the appearing of certain *birds*, the fixing the time proper for the shearing of sheep is one, and that the coming of the kite proclaims it's being then the fit season¹.

Now *Stillingfleet*, in some notes on the Calendar of Theophrastus², fitted for Athens, in the latitude 37° 25', observes, that "between March 11 and 26, the *kite* and the "nightingale appear" (at Athens) "that is, in the leafing season. The appearance of the "hawk is consonant to what Aristotle says,

¹ Stillingfleet's Miscell. Tracts, p. 237.

² Ibid. p. 324.

“ as quoted in the preface, but is determined
 “ upon a different kind of testimony ; which
 “ is a proof that this part of the Calendar,
 “ at least, is tolerably well stated.”

These accounts of *Lusignan* and *Stillingfleet*, if admitted, fix the time of the year when *Jacob* set out upon his return from *Padan-Aram* to his father *Ishaac*, Gen. xxxi. 19 ; when *Judab* cohabited with his daughter-in-law, Gen. xxxviii. 12, &c, at which time of the year, according to Dr. Russell, they are wont to kill their kids about *Aleppo**, agreeable to the proposal made by him to send her a kid from the flock, v. 17.

In like manner circumstances determine, that it was in the *spring* that the sheep of *Nabal* were shorn, 1 Sam. xxv. 2, for, among other things carried by *Abigail* to *David* for a present, mention is made of five measures of *parched corn*, v. 18 ; but we know, from other passages of Scripture, that the time of their using parched corn was wont to be, when it was full grown, but not ripe, Lev. xxiii. 14, Ruth ii. 14, 2 Sam. xvii. 28. This observation may be of some use in settling the *chronology* of *David's* wandering up and down in the Deserts, when forced to fly to avoid the vengeance of *Saul*.

There is another circumstance, in this affair of *Nabal*, which should not be passed over in

* Besides the milk of the *goats*, their kids add some part to the diet of the inhabitants, a few being killed in the *spring* and autumn. History of *Aleppo*, p. 53.

silence, and that is, that his sheep seem to have been sent into the wilderness to feed, some time before the season of sheep-shearing came on, and that they were there by *night* as well as by day. This seems to be pointed out by the 7th, and the 15th and 16th verses: "Thy shepherds, which were with us, we hurt them not, neither was there ought missing to them, all the while they were in Carmel. . . . The men were very good unto us, and we were not hurt, neither missed we any thing, as long as we were conversant with them, when we were in the fields. They were a wall unto us, both by night and day, all the while we were with them keeping the sheep." It would be happy, if some curious observer would give the world an accurate æconomical calendar for the *Holy-Land*, as things are now conducted among them. As nothing of that sort has been published, that I know of, I must content myself with observing, that in *Sweden*, where the *sheep are housed in the winter*, the sheep are turned into the fields, according to the exact and distinct æconomical calendar for that country, when the *white wagtail appears*¹, which happened above a month before the nightingale returned², which being coincident with the appearance of the *kite*, marks out, according to the ancients, the time of sheep-shearing.

¹ Stillingfleet's Miscell. Tracts, p. 265.

² P. 267.

But

But as the climate of the countries in the North of Europe differs so considerably from that of Judæa, the interval between the turning sheep out into their common pastures, after housing them in the winter-time, and shearing them, may differ very much in different countries.

The sacred historian mentions also Absalom's celebrating sheep-shearing time with magnificence, but without mentioning any circumstance that requires attention here.

But with regard to the first of these accounts, (that relating to *Jacob*, who left *Mesopotamia* when *Laban* went to shear his sheep,) we may with propriety take notice of the *acuteness* which *Jacob* shewed, in selecting the articles of that present he made *Esau*. To disengage himself from the company of his brother, and that of his attendants, which gave him a good deal of apprehension, he pleaded not only the tender age of his children, but the state of his cattle, which had, many of them, young by their sides, which, if they were over-driven but one day, would die'. Had he however made a present of such cattle to *Esau*, *Esau* might have alledged the same reason for marching with the like slowness. He chose out therefore such as might make up a noble present, but not such as were *encumbered with their young*. No lambs, or kids, or calves. There

* Gen. 33. 13.

were indeed 30 milch camels *with their colts*, and 20 she-asses, of which 10 had *foals*. But it should seem, from a passage of *Sir John Chardin*¹, that camels generally couple about *June*, and continue in a pregnant state 11 or 12 months²; consequently these colts must have been 9 or 10 months old at this time, and therefore very able to travel much more briskly than the lambs and kids of that spring. The 10 foals of the 20 she-asses were chosen, I should apprehend, with like caution, though I have not such determinate evidence to produce as to their probable age.

OBSERVATION XII.

As the weather and the appearances in the vegetable world, in the spring, have been shewn to be much alike in Barbary, at Aleppo, and in the Holy-Land; it may be agreeable here to add, that there is the same resemblance as to the productions of autumn, and consequently, that we may *safely* apply what may be said of one place to either of the other.

I have shewn it as to the *weather* of the autumn in some preceding observations, let us now proceed to the vegetable productions.

¹ Tome 2. p. 142, 143.

² P. 28.

Dr. Russell tells us the *cotton* is not gathered about Aleppo 'till *October*, O. S., p. 18.

And in 1774, when a late traveller visited Judæa, the *cotton* at Acra, where he considered himself as entering into the precincts of the Holy-Land, was chiefly gathered in the 23d *October*, at which time he arrived there.

Rauwolff found that at the time when the *cotton* was tender and woolly, near the Euphrates, about the middle of *October*, the *corn*, which grew very high, was full ripe, and fit to be cut down¹. The same traveller found then *Indian millet* in the same place just fit to be cut down, and that in some places they had it in already². This *corn* then and *millet* were somewhat sooner ripe than the *cotton*.

The same writer tells us, that the fields about Rama were very fruitful, well tilled, and sown with *corn*, *cotton* and *Indian millet*; and that it was harvest-time when he was there (which was the middle of *September*) a great officer being there to gather a great quantity of *corn* to send to Joppa, to go by sea to *Constantinople*³, where there was then a scarcity⁴. But, according to him,

¹ Ray's Travels, p. 158.

² P. 161.

³ P. 229.

⁴ P. 227.

all the corn¹ was not in by the end of the month².

When Rauwolff found the Turkey wheat and Indian millet fully ripe, on the bank of the Euphrates, he found the Indian musk-melon still continued in season, and in great quantities³.

In like manner he found them growing in the Holy-Land, in great quantities, very pleasant, and well tasted, chiefly those that were red within, when the Turkey corn and Indian millet began to be ripe there⁴.

Russell tells us, that the greater part of the trees about Aleppo, retain their leaves 'till the middle of November, O. S, p. 14.

And in 1774, some of the fruit-trees had begun to drop their leaves when that late visitor of the Holy-Land left Joppa, which must have been towards the close of November, as he left not Jerusalem 'till the 19th of that month, N. S, and arrived in Ægypt on the 2d December; but the olive and fig-trees were not then on the decline.

¹ Which corn appears to have been the Indian or Turkey wheat, our kind of wheat being reaped in the East much sooner.

² P. 319.

³ P. 161.

⁴ 229.

OBSERVATION XIII.

When *Trachonitis* was a part of the Jewish country, as it appears to have been in the time of our Lord¹, (if it did not come within the original bounds of the half tribe of Manasseh,) it must have been a very different country from the South of Judæa in point of heat. But this is no more than happens to other countries, and only makes the *multiplication* of meteorological observations and æconomical calendars necessary, according to the nature of the different districts, in order to have a just idea of the whole.

Thus de la Vallé, having passed over Jordan, at that called Jacob's Bridge, and travelling in the country of *Trachonitis*, which was very fertile and well cultivated, he found that "Mount Libanus was not
" far off, and that from thence came a
" wind so vehement and so cold, with such
" an *abundance of snow*, that though we
" were in a manner buried in our quilted
" coyerlets, yet it was sensibly felt all night,
" and was very disagreeable².

When I add, that it appears that this disagreeable night was that between the 29th

¹ Luke 3. 1. "Herod being tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip tetrarch of Iturea, and of the region of *Trachonitis*."

² P. 121, 122.

and 30th of April, 1616, we shall be not a little surprized. The snow that fell in the night, between the 4th and 5th of May, O. S. 1740, or the 15th and 16th of May, N. S. and some remains of which I saw four days after, and which so much astonished us in Suffolk, was not so far into the spring with us, as the night between the 29th and 30th of April into a Syrian spring, which I have elsewhere shewn is, in common, six, if not eight weeks earlier than our's.

C H A P. II.

Concerning their living in Tents.

OBSERVATION XIV.

SIR J. Chardin tells us, that the late king of Persia caused a tent to be made, which cost two millions^{*}. They called it the House of Gold, because gold glittered every where about it. He adds, that there was an inscription wrought upon the cornice of the antechamber, which gave it the appellation of the throne

^{*} French money we are to suppose.

of the second Solomon, and at the same time marked out the year of it's construction¹.

This account, which is short in this writer, and which I have still more abridged, furnishes us with materials for several remarks.

It shows us, in the first place, how natural it is to the Eastern people, to use the words house and tent as equivalent terms : this *tent* it seems, was called the *House* of Gold. This interchange of the two words frequently appears in the Old Testament. Thus the goodly raiment of Esau, which was left in the custody of Rebekah, is said to be with her *in the house*, Gen. xxvii. 15 ; which it is certain were kept in a *tent*. On the other hand, when Sheba, the son of Bichri, a Benjamite, wanted to cause the people to abandon David, he blew a trumpet, crying, " To your *tents*, O Israel," 2 Sam. xx. 1 ; though Israel did not dwell in moveable habitations at that time, but in cities.

In the next place, this tent was called the House of *Gold*, not that it was wholly made of gold, but because it was highly ornamented with it. This teaches us how we are to understand the *houses of ivory*, and the *golden city*, of which we read in the Scriptures. The houses of ivory² appear to mean houses richly adorned with that precious

¹ Tome i. p. 203.

² Pf. 45. 8. 1 Kings 22. 39. Amos 3. 15.

substance; and the golden city¹ means the city remarkable for it's being richly gilded in many parts of it, or at least in some remarkable places².

In the third place we may observe, that this tent is called *Throne*³: "the Throne of the second Solomon." This shows that the word throne sometimes signifies not the royal seat, strictly speaking, but *the place in which that seat is set*. It is used in the same enlarged sense in the Scriptures.

It is even probably used here, in the fourth place, to signify any royal abode, even those where no seat of state ever appeared. For nothing leads us to imagine the Persian throne, strictly speaking, was ever brought into this majestic tent. So when the men of Gibeon and of Mizpeh are said to have

¹ Mentioned Is. 14. 4.

² We may be satisfied, I believe, that it doth not signify, according to the marginal translation, *exaltress of gold*, for however truly it might have been so described, the *Chaldees* themselves would hardly have given it such an appellation, and the word is acknowledged to be *Chaldaic*; but *they* might glory in it on account of it's being highly ornamented with gold, in some of it's more remarkable parts. One or more of it's *domes and towers* might be richly gilded, like the dome and two towers of the mosque built over the supposed tomb of *Ali*, of which *Niebuhr* has given us an account in the second of his three tomes of Travels, p. 223; or it might have one or more *spires*, like that over the tomb of *Fatima*, at *Com*, a city of Persia, which *Chardin* tells us consists of several balls of different magnitudes, and if of solid gold, as the inhabitants affirm, must be worth millions. Tome 1. p. 204.

³ P. 203.

repaired unto the *throne* of the governor on this side the river, Neh. iii. 7, nothing more may be meant than that they repaired to overagainst the *palace* of this great man.

Niebuhr has made a similar remark to the first of these, in the first tome of his *Voyages**, where he tells us, a young peasant invited him to go with him to his house, to drink some fresh water, which had been taken from the spring that very day; and he did it with so much cordiality, that Niebuhr says he should not have refused him, if it had not been then late. Cheime is properly the name of a tent among the Arabs; but he remarked that the Arabs of this country named their tents *beit*, that is to say their houses.

OBSERVATION XV.

The word *Pavilion* may, it is very likely, excite the notion of something superior to a *common tent*, so our translators use that term to express the *superb* tent of a king of Babylon, Jer. xliii. 10. "He (Nebuchadnezzar) shall spread his *royal pavilion* over them." A mere English reader then will be surprized, perhaps, when he is told that the word translated pavilions, 1 Kings xx. 12, 16, signifies nothing more than *booths*; and more still, if he is told that the sacred histo-

* P. 189.

rian might, possibly, precisely design to be so understood, when describing the places in which kings were drinking.

That the word signifies those slight temporary defences from the heat, which are formed by the setting up the boughs of trees, is visible by what is said, Jonah iv. 5, and Neh. viii. 16; and we know that the common people of the East frequently sit under them; but it may be thought incredible that princes should make use of such as the term, precisely taken, seems to imply. "And it came to pass, when Benhadad heard this message (as he was drinking, *he* and the *kings*, in the pavilions,)" 1 Kings xx. 12. "But Benhadad was drinking himself drunk in the pavilions, he and the *kings*, the thirty and two kings that helped him," v. 16.

In the margin our translators have put the word *tents*: but that there is nothing incredible in the account, if we should understand the prophetic historian as meaning *booths*, properly speaking, will appear, if we consider the great simplicity of ancient times, and the great delight the people of the East take in verdure, and in eating and drinking under the shade of trees; especially after reading the following paragraph of Dr. Chandler's Travels in the Lesser Asia.

"While we were employed on the theatre of Miletus, the Aga of Suki, son-

“ in-law by marriage to Elez-Oglu¹, crossed
 “ the plain towards us, attended by a con-
 “ siderable train of domestics and officers,
 “ their vests and turbans of various and
 “ lively colours, mounted on long-tailed
 “ horses, with *showy* trappings, and *glitter-*
 “ *ing* furniture. He returned, after hawk-
 “ ing, to Miletus; and we went to visit him,
 “ with a present of coffee and sugar; but
 “ were told that two favourite birds had
 “ flown away, and that he was vexed and
 “ tired. *A couch was prepared for him be-*
 “ *neath a shed, made against a cottage, and*
 “ *covered with green boughs, to keep off the*
 “ *sun.* He entered, as we were standing by,
 “ and fell down on it to sleep, without
 “ taking any notice of us².” A very mean
 place, an European would think, to be pre-
 pared for the reception of an Aga that made
 so respectable a figure, and in a town, which,
 though ruined, still had several cottages, in-
 habited by Turkish families³.

It doth not appear incredible then, that
 Benhadad, and the thirty-two *petty kings* that
 attended him, might actually be drinking
 wine beneath such *green sheds* as a Turkish
 Aga, of considerable distinction, chose to sleep
 under, rather than in an adjoining cottage;
 or rather than under a *tent*, which he other-

¹ A Turkish officer of great power and extensive
 command in that country, dignified with the title of
 Musulém, p. 106.

² P. 149.

³ P. 148.

wife might have had carried with him, to repose under when he chose to rest himself. Oriental manners are very different from our's.

OBSERVATION XVI.

Abraham is described, on a particular occasion, as sitting *at the door* of his tent, in the heat of the day, Gen. xviii. 1; and it should seem, from Dr. Richard Chandler's account, those that lead a pastoral life in the East, at this day, frequently place themselves in a similar situation.

"At ten minutes after ten" (in the morning) "we had in view," says this writer, "several fine bays, and a plain full of booths, with the Turcomans *sitting by the doors*, under *sheds resembling porticoes*; or by shady trees, surrounded with flocks of goats¹."

This gentleman frequently met with these people in his journies in Asia: sometimes he describes them as living in *black booths*², which, I should suppose, means tents of *black goats-hair cloth*, like the tents of the Arabs; at other times, he evidently means habitations formed of boughs of trees: thus he says, p. 184, "We came to a level green, occupied by Turcomans. Their flocks and their cattle were feeding round the scattered

¹ P. 180, 181, Travels in Asia Minor.

² See p. 112.

“ booths ; and cotton, recently gathered from
“ the pods, was exposed on the ground to
“ dry, or on the tops of the sheds, which
“ are flat and covered with boughs ‘.’”

As these people seem to change their habitations, as the weather, or their fancies may dispose them, it is not impossible that Abraham might dwell in both these kinds of habitation, and might be sitting in the portico of one of these extemporaneous structures, formed of the boughs of trees, as the word rendered tent is used in a large sense in Scripture ; but if not, if it was a tent strictly speaking, he might be sitting under the outskirts of his tent, near the door, to enjoy the fresh air, as Chandler saw the Turcoman shepherds sitting under their sheds, watching their cattle.

It was not the hottest part of the day, when Chandler saw these people sitting at the doors of their booths, it was soon after *ten in the morning* ; and when Abraham was sitting at his tent-door, it might be nearly at the same hour. Travelling in the *hottest part of all* might have been dangerous, and according to the modern customs of these countries Abraham *then* would have been retired to rest.

According to this description, Abraham had not far to go to fetch a calf ; his cattle were feeding by his tent.

‘ This being some time in October.

OBSERVATION XVII.

Sometimes those that have no tents, shelter themselves from the inclemency of the night-air in *holes and caverns*, which they find in their rocky hills, where they can kindle fires to warm themselves, as well as to dress their provisions; to which may be added, that doves also, in those countries, frequently haunt such places, as well as some other birds.

Dr. Richard Chandler, in his travels in Asia Minor, has both taken notice of the doves there lodging in holes of the rocks¹; and of the shepherds and fishermen being wont to make use of such retreats, and of their *kindling fires* in them, by which practice those doves must be frequently very much *smutted*, and made not a little *filthy*². And I have been sometimes ready to imagine, that an attention to these circumstances may afford as easy and natural an account as any that has been given, of that association of such very different things as *doves and smoky places*, which we meet with in the 68th Psalm³.

It is certain the people of Israel are compared to a dove, in the book of Psalms; "O deliver not the soul of thy *turtle-dove* unto the multitude of the wicked; forget not the *congregation* of thy poor for ever," Ps.

¹ P. 19.² P. 55.³ V. 13.

lxxiv. 19; and the same image appears to have been made use of in this 68th Psalm. If it was made use of, it was not unnatural to compare Israel, who had been in a very afflicted state in Egypt, to a dove making its abode in the hollow of a rock, which had been smutted by the fires of shepherds, made in it for the heating their milk, or other culinary purposes, which led them to make such little heaps of stones, on which they might set their *pots*, having an hollow under them, in which they put the fuel, according to the Eastern mode, of which I have given an account elsewhere, and which little buildings are meant by the word here translated *pots*.

This image might very agreeably be made use of to express any kind of affliction Israel might have suffered, when they are compared as a body of people to a dove; and certainly not less so, when they had been forced to work without remission in the brick-kilns of Ægypt.

For so the sense will be something like this; *O my people! though ye have been like a dove in an hole of a rock, that hath been blackened by the fires of the shepherds for the boiling their pots; yet on this joyous occasion did you appear as the most beautiful of that species, whose wings are like silver, and the more muscular parts, from whence the strength of the wings is derived, like the splendor of gold.*

The

The colour of their common pigeons seems to be like that of the dove-house pigeons of our country, *blue* or *ash-colour*, from a circumstance mentioned by Pitts¹; for he says, "In *Mecca* there are thousands of *blue* pigeons, which none will affright, or abuse, much less kill them; and they are therefore so very tame, that they'll pick meat out of one's hand. . . . They come in great flocks to the *Temple*, where they are usually fed by the *bagges*². For the poor people of *Mecca* come to them with a little sort of a dish made with rushes, with some corn in it, begging them to bestow something on *Hammamet metta nabee*, i. e. the pigeons of the Prophet."

But though pigeons or doves are in common *blue* in the East³, yet there were some, even *anciently*, that were more beautiful; witness those lines of *Tibullus*, which have been cited by Commentators on this passage,

Quid referam, ut volitet crebras intacta per urbes
Alba Palæstino sancta columba Syro?

— Why should I say,
How through the crowded towns the milk-white dove,
In Syria sacred, may with safety rove?

¹ P. 127.

² The pilgrims.

³ I have been assured by the gentleman who was at Jerusalem in 1774, the pigeons of that country too are like our common pigeons, though he fancied somewhat larger.

Here

Here we see some of the doves of Palæstine were *white*—their wings covered as with *silver*; they were treated with great *respect* like the blue pigeons of Mecca, receiving no hurt in populous cities, and were considered as devoted to some deity; but what is meant by the intermingled splendor of gold, doth not appear in this quotation, unless we should suppose, it is involved in the circumstance of it's being a *consecrated* animal.

It is not, it should seem, the description of an animal adorned merely by the hand of nature. We have no accounts, so far as I remember, of a pigeon *wholly white*, except some feathers of the colour of gold on the breast; but it is easy to conceive of a *consecrated* bird, so adorned by superstition as to answer such a description. The *ancient heathens* are known to have ornamented their sacred animals with trinkets of gold. The Syrians might thus adorn their sacred doves, and probably did. Something of this kind still remains in those Eastern countries, and is supposed to be a remain of ancient heathenish superstition.

Sir John Chardin twice mentions *fishes* reputed to be sacred at this day in the East. In his third tome he tells us, *that at a town called Comicha, he found in the courtyard of a mosque two reservoirs, or basins of water, the one twenty paces from the other, full of fishes, some of which had rings of brass, some of silver, others of gold. I apprehended*

prehended that these fish had the rings in their nostrils by way of ornament; but I was informed that it was in token of their being consecrated. None dared to take them: such a sacrilege was supposed most certainly to draw after it the vengeance of the saint to whom they were consecrated; and his votaries, not content to leave them to his resentment, took upon them to punish themselves the transgressors. An Armenian Christian was killed upon the spot by one of them, who had ventured to take some of these sacred fish¹.

This is a remain of ancient superstition. Dr. Richard Chandler, in his travels in Asia Minor, gives us a note from *Ælian*², who speaks of tame fishes, that wore golden necklaces and ear-rings, in a clear fountain, in a temple belonging to the military Jupiter.

As the worship of the Syrian goddess *Astartè* was very ancient³, to whom the white doves of Tibullus were consecrated; the superstition of consecrating that animal to her might, very possibly, be as ancient as the time of the Psalmist, and the adorning them with gold too; and that he alludes to these circumstances here. Israel is to me as a consecrated dove⁴, and though your circumstances have made you rather appear like a poor dove, blackened by taking up its abode in a smoky hole of the rocks;

¹ P. 91. See also p. 143.

³ Or Ashtaroth, Judges 2. 13, &c.

² P. 197.

⁴ Ps. 74. 19.

yet shall you become beautiful and glorious as a Syrian *silver-coloured* pigeon, on whom some *ornament of gold* is put.

OBSERVATION XVIII.

The Bishop of Waterford has remarked, on Zeph. ii. 6, that many manuscripts, and three editions, have a single letter in one of it's words more than appears in the common editions, which, instead of *cherith*, gives us a word which signifies *caves*; and he remarks that if we adopt this sense, the words must be rendered,

“ And the sea-coast shall be sheep-cotes,
“ *Caves for shepherds, and folds for flocks.*”

To this I must add, that this seems to me to be much the most natural reading.

I was just now taking notice, that the Eastern shepherds make use of caves very frequently; sleeping in them, and driving also their flocks into them at night. What I would add here is, that the mountains bordering on the Syrian coast are remarkable for the *number of caves* in them; and that they are found, in particular, in the neighbourhood of *Askelon*.

Thus we find, in the History of the Croisades, by the *Archbishop of Tyre*, that that active prince *Baldwin I*st, after the death

death of his brother Godfrey, and before his own coronation, presented himself, with some troops that he had got together, before Ascalon¹. That the citizens were afraid to venture out to fight with him; upon which, finding it would be of no advantage to continue there, he ranged about the plains which lay between the mountains and the sea, and found villages, whose inhabitants having left their houses, had retired with their wives and children, their flocks and herds, into subterraneous caves. Being enemies, who had often made incursions into the country between Ramula and Jerusalem², rendering the roads dangerous, and often destroying travellers, he, upon hearing this, ordered fires to be kindled at the mouths of these caves, that they might be forced by the smoke to surrender themselves to him, or be suffocated. That not being able to bear the heat and the smoke, they did surrender to Baldwin, who, answerable to their deserts, ordered an hundred of them to be beheaded, and seized on the provisions they had laid in for themselves and the cattle with them³.

This shows there were many caves in the neighbourhood of Ashkelon, or some very large ones, to hold such a number of people as is here represented to have been found in them, with their cattle. It is then natural, when Zephaniab is speaking of Israel's after-

¹ Which our translation renders Ashkelon.

² Belonging to the Christian kings of Jerusalem.

³ Gesta Dei, per Francos, p. 781.

wards feeding their flocks and herds in the territory of Ashkelon, to understand their conveniences there for the feeding their cattle, of the *caves* in the neighbouring hills of that country, and of the *sheltering-places* they found in the desolated villages, and even Ashkelon itself, *among their ruins*, as is practised at this very day among the Eastern shepherds¹.

This same historian indeed represents the country about *Ascalon* as by no means a rich soil, but, on the contrary, so sandy, as only to produce vines and some fruit-trees very near the city²; but it is evident, from his own relation in the first-cited page³, that the *territory* of *Ascalon* was capable of feeding large numbers of cattle, and had, in the time of Baldwin Ist, many inhabitants whose employment was the tending such. The taking possession then of this country for the enlargement of their pastures, upon their return from captivity, might be mentioned by the prophet to Israel as an object of desire and hope.

¹ Consequently, if I might venture to attempt a small variation from his Lordship's translation, it should be something like this,

And the sea-coast shall be pastures :
Caves of shepherds, and folds for flocks.

For so the same word in the original is translated pastures,
Pf. 23. 2.

² P. 924.

³ P. 781.

OBSERVATION XIX.

There is little or no difficulty, I think, in understanding what the sacred historian says, concerning Jonathan's visiting David when concealed from Saul *in a wood*, mentioned 1 Sam. xxiii; but there is a passage in the Travels of Pietro della Vallé, so picturesque, and bearing such a resemblance to David's situation, though not exactly similar, that my readers, possibly, may not be displeased with seeing it.

Speaking of his passing through a forest or wood in *Mazanderan* (a province of Persia) into which they entered on the 11th of February, and complaining of the moisture and heaviness of the roads there, he tells us, " We did at length master them, but with
" so much difficulty, that we could not get
" forward above two leagues that day, and
" night overtook us before we got through
" the forest. We endeavoured to find some
" place of retreat, in different parts, to
" which the barking of dogs, or the noise
" made by other animals, seemed to guide
" us. But at last, finding no inhabited
" place near us, we passed the night in the
" same forest, among the trees, under which
" we made a kind of retrenchment with our
" baggage, in a place where we found many
" dry leaves that had fallen from the trees.
" These served us for a carpet and for bed-
" ding

“ ding both, without any other tent than
“ the branches of the great trees there,
“ through which the moon-shine reached
“ us, and made a kind of pavilion of cloth
“ of silver. There was no want of wood
“ for the making a great fire, any more
“ than of provisions for supper, which we
“ sent for from the nearest village in the
“ forest, seated by the high-way side, where,
“ after some contest with the people, of a
“ savage and suspicious temper, who were
“ ready to come to blows with my messen-
“ gers, without knowing any reason why they
“ should, they, after coming to a right under-
“ standing with us, became very civil, would
“ have lodged us, and made us presents ; but
“ on our refusal, on account of the distance of
“ the way, the chief person of the town, with
“ the other principal inhabitants, came, of
“ their own accord, to our camp, laden with
“ good meat and other provisions, and spent
“ the night with us with great gaiety. They
“ even brought us a country musician, who
“ regaled us during supper, and all night
“ long, with certain forest-songs, in the lan-
“ guage of the country, that is, of Mazan-
“ deran, where a coarse kind of Persian is
“ spoken, sung to the sound of a miserable
“ violin, which was sufficiently tiresome¹. ”

How picturesque ! How descriptive of Da-
vid and his people's lodging in a wood, and

¹ Tome 3. p. 217, 218.

the altercations he may be believed to have had with some of the neighbouring villagers, before he could obtain provisions from them ! Whether Jonathan brought a supply of bread, meat, and fruits with him, and even his music, we are not told ; but certainly he treated David not only with friendship, but with something of deference and respect, which was like an acknowledgment of superiority.

“ David saw that Saul was come out to seek his life : and David was in the wilderness of Ziph, *in a wood*. And Jonathan Saul’s son arose, and *went to David into the wood, and strengthened his hand in God*. And he said unto him, Fear not : for the hand of Saul my father shall not find thee ; and thou shalt be king over Israel, and I shall be next unto thee : and that also Saul my father knoweth. And they two made a covenant before the Lord : and David abode in the wood, and Jonathan went to his house ‘.”

Certainly Jonathan *did not strengthen his hand in God*, by giving him *fresh prophetic assurances* of his after royalty ; nor could his *repeating* the declarations of Samuel add much to the fortitude of David’s mind ; it must at least be the *winning acquiescence* of his friend in the divine arrangement, which was so contrary to the usual emotions of the

‘ V. 15—18.

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human

human heart, as evidently to shew the *finger of God* in it; and there *might be* a princely supply of David's wants in that destitute state, which might greatly encourage him; and the imagination may even go so far, as to suppose he did him the honour of complimenting him with his *music*.

At worst, della Vallé's account affords an amusing description of *his* lodging in a wood.

OBSERVATION XX.

Mean as, we are ready to think, their accommodations are, who have no other habitation than tents or caves, many of those who employ themselves in the East in tending cattle, customarily *lie abroad in the fields* with them, without even the shelter of a tent; and this too some of them do when *Winter* approaches.

Dr. Chandler set out, on his first excursion from Smyrna, the last day of September, and travelled nearly the whole month of October. The following is the account he gives us of one occurrence in this journey: "About two in the morning our
" whole attention was fixed by the barking
" of dogs, which, as we advanced, became
" exceedingly furious. Deceived by the light
" of the moon, we now fancied we could
" see a village, and were much mortified to
" find

“ find only a *station of poor goat-herds*, with-
 “ out even a *shed*, and nothing for our horses
 “ to eat. They were lying, wrapped in their
 “ thick capots, or loose coats, by some *glim-*
 “ *mering embers among the bushes* in a dale,
 “ under a spreading *tree* by the fold. They
 “ received us hospitably, heaping on fresh
 “ fewel, and producing caimac¹, or four
 “ curds, and coarse bread, which they toasted
 “ for us on the coals. We made a scanty
 “ meal, sitting on the ground, lighted by
 “ the fire and by the moon; after which,
 “ sleep suddenly overpowered me. On wak-
 “ ing I found my two companions by my
 “ side, sharing in the comfortable cover of
 “ the janizary’s cloke, which he had care-
 “ fully spread over us. I was now much
 “ struck with the wild appearance of the
 “ spot. The *tree was hung with rustic uten-*
 “ *sils*; the she-goats in a pen, sneezed, and
 “ bleated, and rustled to and fro; the shrubs
 “ by which our horses stood were *leafless*,
 “ and the earth bare; a black caldron with
 “ milk was simmering over the fire; and a
 “ figure, more than ghaunt or savage, close
 “ by us, struggling on the ground with a
 “ kid, whose ears he had slit, and was en-
 “ deavouring to cauterize with a piece of red
 “ hot iron².”

I think this may stand as a comment on

¹ He frequently, in the course of these Travels, mentions these four curds, as used for food in Asia.

² P. 157.

Ezek. xxxiv. 25 : " I will make with them a
 " covenant of peace, and will cause the evil
 " beasts to cease out of the land : and they
 " shall dwell safely in the wilderness, and *sleep*
 " *in the woods.*"

The account Chandler has given is extremely amusing to the imagination, and is, I doubt not, a faithful representation of the state of many of the ancient Israelitish shepherds ; but this management must have exposed them to many dangers, if their country, at any time, should be over-run with beasts of prey. The prophet declares, on the part of God, those destructive beasts should be taken away at the time he refers to.

OBSERVATION XXI.

The same *caution* that has engaged the Eastern people *in general*, that tend cattle, not to sleep in the open air, but to make use of tents, it should seem, engages them not to sit or lie in their tents on the moist ground, but to make use of some kind of *carpeting*.

The poorer sort of *Arabs* of our times make use of mats in their tents¹; and other inhabitants of these countries, who affect ancient simplicity of manners, make use of goat-skins, in a way that may afford an

¹ Voy. dans la Palestine, par de la Roque, p. 176.

amusing illustration of some passages of the *Pentateuch*, which relate to the mode of living observed by the Israelites in the Wilderness.

Dr. Richard Chandler, in his *Travels in Greece*, tells us, *that he saw some dervishes at Athens sitting on goat-skins; and that he was afterwards conducted into a room furnished in like manner, with the same kind of carpeting, where he was treated with a pipe and coffee by the chief dervish*¹.

Those that are at all acquainted with Oriental manners, in these later times, know that their *dervishes* (who are a sort of Mohammedan devotees, a good deal resembling the begging friars of the church of Rome) affect great simplicity, and even sometimes austerity, in their dress and way of living. As these dervishes then, that Dr. Chandler visited, sat on goat-skins, and used no other kind of carpet for the accommodation of them that visited them; so it should seem that the Israelites in the Wilderness made use of skins for *mattresses*² to lie upon, and consequently we may equally suppose to sit upon in the day-time, instead of a *carpet*.

Skins then of *goats*, as well as of *sheep* and *bullocks*, must have been among them very valuable things, and as such the *priest* that offered any burnt-offering was to have it's *skin*, Lev. vii. 8.

¹ P. 103, 104.

² See Lev. 15. 17.

The *Bedouin Arabs*, however, are not *now* unacquainted with those more beautiful carpets that are used in the *houses* of rich people in those countries, but their princes make use of them in their tents. So d'Arvieux found the Great Emir of Mount Carmel sitting in his tent upon a *Turkey carpet*, when he paid him a visit by order of the king of France¹; and de la Roque, in giving an account of this journey, describes the Arab princes as using *mattresses, carpets, &c.*²; but how long they have made use of them in their tents may be difficult to determine.

OBSERVATION XXII.

I have, in a preceding volume of Observations³, supposed that the precious *clothes for chariots*, mentioned by the prophet *Ezekiel*⁴, as carried from *Dedan* to *Tyre*, meant *carpets*; and in another work I have supposed carpets to have been as ancient as the time of *Solomon*, and those richly wrought with pertinent or useful sentences, agreeable to the present taste of the inhabitants of the East⁵: but perhaps it may be imagined, that all this is rather inconsistent with a

¹ Voy. dans la Palestine, p. 6. ² P. 177. ³ Vol. 2, p. 523.

⁴ Ch. 27. 20.

⁵ Outlines of a New Commentary on Solomon's Song, p. 175, &c.

passage in the book of *Judith*, and therefore hardly to be admitted.

The passage I refer to is as follows:
 “ So she arose, and decked herself with her
 “ apparel, and all her woman’s attire, and her
 “ maid went and laid *soft skins* on the ground
 “ for her, over against *Holofernes*, which she
 “ had received of *Bagoas* for her daily use,
 “ that she might sit and eat upon them.”
 Ch. xii. 15.

Now it may be said, supposing he was no *inspired*, or even *accurate* writer, which qualities can neither of them be with truth applied to him, yet as an *ancient* author, and one who appears in some other instances to be tolerably well versed in the affairs of the East*, one can hardly imagine *carpets* were of that high antiquity I have formerly supposed, since he supposes they were nothing more than *skins* properly prepared, which were used in the *tent of Holofernes himself*. Consequently, in his time, we may believe carpets were not known, for if they had, he would have introduced them into the tent-equipage of this great general of Nabuchodonosor, that mighty and splendid Eastern conqueror, and not described Holo-

* Such as the heat’s being sometimes so extreme in the time of barley-harvest, in Judæa, as to be fatal, ch. 8. 2, 3, which has been verified by recent instances; and that rain might be hoped for in an extraordinary case so early as *September*, after the summer’s drought, though in common they fall not ’till October, ch. 8. 31.

fernes rather like a *Tartar* warrior, than generalissimo of the *Assyrians*¹.

It may be said that so general, so universal is the use of *carpets* now, that even the great *Arab* Emir of Mount *Carmel* was found by d'Arvieux sitting in his tent on a *Turkey carpet*²; and they have so entirely driven out the use of *inferior* coverings of the earth to sit upon, that we cannot but suppose they would have so far produced a like effect, as to have been used by *Holofernes*, if *rich carpets* had been as ancient as the time of Solomon. Or if this history should be found to be *fabulous*, yet still the author, who must be supposed to have lived later than the times of which he pretended to write the history, consequently would, without fail, have introduced beautiful *carpets* as one of his decorations, if they had been in frequent use in the time in which he lived.

But I would observe, that though writers take little notice of them, Sir John Chardin assures us, that it is common in *Persia*, which yet he describes as being in general a very dry country, to place a covering of *felt* over the ground on which the carpet is laid. "The floors are covered first with a great thick *felt*, and over that a beautiful *carpet*, or two, according to the size

¹ I say of the *Assyrians*, for Nabuchodonosor, whose general he was, is called king of the *Assyrians* in the book of Judith.

² Voy. dans la Palestine, p. 6.

“ of the room. Some of these carpets are
 “ 60 feet long, and so heavy as scarcely to
 “ be carried by two men.” He adds, “ I
 “ have often put my hand under these pieces
 “ of felt in the apartments of *Ispahan*, and
 “ elsewhere, which have been laid upon
 “ the bare earth, thinking it would be im-
 “ possible that they should not be found
 “ somewhat moist ; but I have constantly
 “ found them dry. If we were to cover
 “ the ground after this manner in *Europe*
 “ with *carpets*, we should find them rotten
 “ in a twelvemonth’s time, in the greatest
 “ part of it’s countries’.”

The mention of soft skins in the tent
 of *Holofernes* doth not, I should think, ne-
 cessarily suppose they might not be covered
 over with *carpets*, as the Persians cover over
 the *felt* they use in their apartments. Or
 if it should be supposed that it doth, it
 only should seem to be a proof, that the
 Jew who drew up this account lived
 in some of the *moister* provinces of the
 East², where *leather*, properly prepared, was
 made use of to prevent the bad effects
 of the moisture of the earth on rich car-
 pets, and drew up this history under the

¹ Tome 2. p. 54.

² The country about *Babylon* is well known to have
 been very marshy ; and some of the provinces adjoining to
 the ancient *Media*, through whose cities the ten tribes were
 scattered, are described as very moist and warm, *Gbilan*
 in particular,

influence

influence of the custom of his native province.

This may be *sufficient*, without adding, that as the inhabitants of these countries now frequently make use of furs for the edging, or otherwise decorating their vestments, it is not difficult to conceive of some skins being used as a carpet, which would be not only very beautiful, but esteemed extremely precious too, as well as thought very proper to guard against the moisture of the ground when residing in a *tent*.

OBSERVATION XXIII.

Though the *festivity of Nabal's sheep-shearing* is represented as very great, yet I never met with any account of solemnities of this kind in books of travels; and, upon enquiring of the Greek gentleman who wrote the History of the Revolt of Aly Bey, I cannot find that the *Arabs of that country* are wont to make sumptuous entertainments on that occasion: whence I should think we are to conclude, that the wealth of Nabal was not only very great; but that he lived in a princely manner 'among his countrymen'; and was known to have large stores

¹ It should seem David might have addressed him as the children of *Heth* did *Abraham*, Gen. 23. 6, "Hear us, my lord: thou art a prince of God (a mighty prince) among us."

of provisions, particularly on such rural solemnities.

Such circumstances, put together, naturally invited one in David's situation to apply to him, rather than any other in that part of the country; and led him more severely to resent his insulting neglect.

As to the feasting of the *modern Arabs* on such occasions, *Lusignan's* account is nothing more than this, *that the Arabs perhaps kill a lamb at such times, and treat their relations or friends with it, together with new cheese and milk, and so pass their time somewhat joyously on the occasion.*

This is very different from the feast Nabal held when his sheep were shorn¹; or, we may believe, from the entertainment *Absalom* prepared for the family of king David, when Amnon was slain,

OBSERVATION XXIV.

Our translators suppose, that the edifice at which *Jebu* slew the brethren of *Abaziah* king of *Judah*², was destined to the sole purpose of *shearing of sheep*; but as I apprehend the term in the original is ambi-

¹ 1 Sam. 25. 8, 36; to which is to be added the account given of the plentiful present made to David by Abigail, v. 18, which, large as it was, seems not to have been missed by Nabal, at least did not prevent his celebrating the festival.

² 2 Kings, 10. 12, 14.

guous, which is accordingly literally translated in the margin, "the house of sheep-herds binding," it might be more agreeable to use some less determinate word, as the word, I am ready to believe, may signify the binding sheep for shearing; the binding up their fleeces, after those fleeces taken from the sheep beforehand were washed; or the binding the sheep for the purpose of milking. Whether it was erected for all three purposes, or if only for one of them, then for which of the three, it may be very difficult precisely to say.

A *pit* near such a building must be useful in any of the three cases, for the affording water for the sheep that were detained there for some time, in the first and third case, to drink; and for the washing the wool in the other.

If the intention of the historian had been to describe it as the place appropriated to the shearing of sheep, it would have been natural for him to have used the word that precisely expresses that operation, not such a general term as the *house of binding*.

All know that sheep must be *bound*, or at least forcibly held, in order to be shorn; and it appears in the Travels of Dr. Richard Chandler in the Lesser Asia, that the shepherds there, sitting at the mouth of the pen, were wont to seize on the ewes and she-goats, each by the hind-leg, as they pressed forwards,

to milk them', which seizing them sufficiently shows they must be held, shackled, or somehow bound when milked.

In another Observation I have taken notice of the readiness of *great men*, in the East, to repose themselves, when fatigued, under the shelter of roofs of a very mean kind; the brethren, it seems, of Ahaziah anciently did the same thing. But they found no more safety in this *obscure retreat*, than they would have found in the *palaces* of either Samaria or Jezreel.

The slaying them *at the pit*, near this place, seems to have been owing to a custom at that time, whether arising from *superstition*, to preserve the land from being defiled, or any other notion, doth not at first sight appear; but it was, it seems, a customary thing at that time to put people to death near water, at least near where water was soon expected to flow, as appears from 1 Kings xviii. 40.

OBSERVATION XXV.

It will greatly add to the beauty of the image made use of by the prophet Isaiah, where he compares the escape of Israel from Pharaoh, through the Red-Sea, to the motion of horse in the Wilderness, and the

passing of an herd into a valley', if we understand it as a reference to the flying of the *wild Arabs of the Desert* from their enemies, by which they secure their liberties, and avoid the effects of the ambition of great princes, desirous of enslaving as many of mankind as they possibly can; yet, I think, it has never been considered in that light.

The passage I refer to lies thus in our common translation: "That led them through
 " the deep, as an horse in the Wilderness, that
 " they should not stumble? As a beast goeth
 " down into the valley, the spirit of the
 " Lord caused him to rest; so didst thou
 " lead thy people, to make thyself a glorious
 " name." I do not know how it affects the mind of other people; but understood as merely referring to the unobstructed running of a single horse in a plain, and the descent of a beast into a valley to take it's repose there, it seems to me too low and unanimated, especially considering the manner in which this prophet is wont to write. More surprising still, when we recollect that the prophet is here describing a scene by which God acquired to himself a *glorious* name, and which, consequently, demanded the greatest *strength and magnificence* of thought.

The Bishop of London, who so often assists us through the difficulties that occur in

reading this prophet, fails us here, only translating the words after this manner,

- “ Leading them through the abyfs, like a
“ courfer in the plain, without obftacle.
“ As the herd descendeth to the valley, the
“ Spirit of Jehovah conducted them:
“ So didft thou lead thy people, to make
“ thyself a name illuftrious.”

And giving a different reading or two in a note on the 14th verfe.

The manner in which his Lordship has pointed thefe verfes is, undoubtedly, an improvement, as are alfo fome things in the tranflation; but ftill an uneasy fenfation is felt, arifing from fomewhat like meannefs in the metaphors here made ufe of, though it is fomewhat abated in this his tranflation.

Nor doth it appear, why, in order to reft, an herd fhould defcend *into a valley*. According to Dr. Shaw, the *bills* muft afford them as pleafing and comfortable places for their repofe, as the valleys. The Eastern hills, according to this agreeable writer, are oftentimes ftocked “ with fhubs and a delicate
“ fhort grafs, which the cattle are more
“ fond of, than of fuch as is common to
“ fallow ground and meadows. Neither is
“ the grazing and feeding of cattle peculiar
“ to Judæa; it is ftill practifed all over
“ Mount Libanus, the Caftavan mountains,
“ and

“ and Barbary, where the *higher* grounds are
 “ appropriated to this use, as the *plains and*
 “ *valleys are reserved for tillage*. For, be-
 “ sides the good management and œcono-
 “ my, there is this further advantage in it,
 “ that the milk of cattle fed in this manner,
 “ is far more rich and delicious, at the same
 “ time, their flesh is more sweet and nou-
 “ rishing¹.”

A page or two after he tells us, “ Even at
 “ present, notwithstanding the want there
 “ has been for many ages of proper cul-
 “ ture and improvement, yet the plains and
 “ valleys, though as fruitful as ever, lie
 “ almost entirely neglected, whilst every little
 “ hill is crowded with inhabitants
 “ The reason is plain and obvious ; inas-
 “ much as they find here sufficient con-
 “ veniences for themselves, and *much greater*
 “ *for their cattle*. For they themselves have
 “ here bread to the full ; whilst their cattle
 “ brouze upon richer herbage ; and both of
 “ them are refreshed by *springs of excellent*
 “ *water*, too much wanted, especially in
 “ the summer season, not only in the plains
 “ of this, but of other countries in the same
 “ climate².”

If this account is just, a reader may wonder
 why the prophet mentions an herd's descend-
 ing into a *valley*, in order to it's resting.

¹ P. 338. ed. 1757. 4to.

² P. 340.

But if we consider this metaphor as pointing at what happens *among the wild Arabs*, every part of it will appear, I apprehend, perfectly clear and just; and the image will be placed in a point of light, in which it will strike us with it's liveliness and magnificence both.

I would begin the explanation of the passage, by observing, that the original Hebrew word (Sus), in the singular, signifies not only a *single horse*, but *cavalry*, or a number of horses with riders on them: just as we use the word *horse* to express a single animal of that species; and at other times use it to express the horsemen of an army. Thus the word is used Exod. xiv. 9, 23, to express the horse of Pharaoh's army that pursued after the Israelites. Now if it expresses the horse of the Ægyptian army, it may as well here express the horse of the inhabitants of the Wilderness, that is, the Arab horse or cavalry.

For in the Scriptures the Arabs are represented as distinguished from other nations, by their abode in the wildernesses of the East. Jer. iii. 2, is a sufficient proof of this: "Lift up thine eyes to the high places, and see where thou hast not been lien with: in the ways hast thou sat for them, as the *Arabian in the wilderness*, and thou hast polluted the land with thy whoredoms."

The Arab horse are now, it should seem, remarkable for the surprising swiftness with

which they withdraw themselves out of the reach of mighty princes, who have sometimes attempted to pursue them. I have elsewhere given an account, from Maillet and de la Roque, of this prodigious swiftness with which they withdraw out of danger¹: to which I may add, from the last of those two writers, that the great Emir of Mount Carmel had a mare (for it seems they ride them in preference to stallions, or even castrated horses, as best suiting them, on account of their greater silence, gentleness, and ability to bear fatigue, hunger, and thirst, which qualities they have found from experience they possess above the males of that species; I say this prince had a mare, according to him,) whom he would not have parted from for 5000 crowns, having carried him three days and three nights together without eating or drinking, and by this means delivered him out of the hands of those that pursued after him².

Such an account of the *horse of the Wilderness*, takes away all meanness from this part of the representation of the prophet, (v. 13,) and throws the utmost liveliness into the description of the withdrawing of Israel, through the Red-Sea, from Pharaoh, and escaping out of his hands, when he pursued after them with a great army, and in a terrible rage; yet they were brought off, by a divine inter-

¹ Observ. ch. 2. obs. 2, 10.

² Voy. dans la Palestine, ch. 11. p. 163.

position, with a surprisingness, resembling the amazing escapes of the wild Arabs of the Desert out of the hands of mighty princes, that have sometimes attempted to overtake them; especially when we add, that other Eastern horses are wont to move slow, in great pomp, and very magnificently harnessed. After this latter manner the Turks are wont to ride¹, while speed is what the Arabs of the Desert are chiefly concerned about.

If they are not so sure-footed as the mule, which, I think, Dr. Shaws affirms², it will account for the mention of *not stumbling* in this verse: comparing the escaping of the Israelites from Pharaoh, to the escape of the Arabs of the Wilderness, on the account of it's suddenness, remarking at the same time, that no ill accident attended them in this retreat, which sometimes overtakes the swiftest and the surest-footed horses.

With respect to the herd's going down into the valley, it may be understood two different ways, but each of them a continuation of the same image, of the *escape of Arabs* from their pursuers.

They decamp, upon an alarm, d'Arvieux tells us, according to de la Roque's account, *in two hours time, marching all of them off with their cattle*, (their herds, and their flocks,) and

¹ Niebuhr, Descrip. de l'Arabie, p. 144. ² P. 166.

*their families, with their baggage loaded on bullocks, mules, or camels, and immediately plunge into the deserts*¹. As this is done to secrete themselves from their pursuers, however proper and agreeable the *hills* may be for the feeding their cattle, it must be more agreeable to them to withdraw, on such occasions, into some *deep sequestered valley*, the better to conceal themselves from their enemies, that may endeavour to follow them, than any other place, and may be pointed at by the prophet.

It is into *such places* the Arabs of Barbary at least retire, when they want to lie concealed, according to Dr. Shaw, who informs us, in the preface to his *Travels*², that *about the middle of the afternoon they began to look out for the encampments of the Arabs, who, to prevent such parties as their's from living at free charges upon them, took care to pitch in woods, valleys, or places the least conspicuous. And that indeed, unless they discovered their flocks, the smoke of their tents, or heard the barking of their dogs, it was sometimes with difficulty, if at all, that they were found.*

So after Israel had escaped from the Ægyptian army, they laid in a state of safety in the Wilderness, with their flocks and herds, and the riches they brought out of Ægypt, unattacked afterwards by the succeed-

¹ Voy. dans la Palestine, p. 190.

² P. 17.

ing king of that country ; and in general¹ unmolested by any of the other bordering nations ; like an Arab herd, that having escaped the hands of their enemies, was conducted into *some safe retired valley*, in order to remain undisturbed, after having felt the anguish of being closely pursued, from which pursuit they hardly had escaped.

Or as the Hebrew word seems, strictly speaking, to mean a *narrow pass* through a range of mountains, (though it is used in a more general sense for *any valleys*, those of easy access, as well as those that are more difficult,) it might be the design of the prophet to express the state of safety into which God led Israel, by carrying them into the Wilderness, where it would be too difficult for the Ægyptians afterwards to attack them, and most other nations thereabouts, in like manner, by comparing them to an Arab herd conducted through a difficult pass in the mountains, which have been sometimes actually observed in the Wilderness between Ægypt and Canaan², by which means they secured themselves from danger, it being unsafe for any to pursue them after they had passed through such a passage in the mountains.

“ About four miles before we arrived at

¹ My Reader, who recollects what is said in Exod. 17, concerning *Amalek*, will be sensible why I express myself after this manner upon this subject.

² See Irwin's late Travels from Upper Ægypt to Cairo.

“Pharan, we passed through a remarkable breach in a rock; each side of it is as perpendicular as a wall, about 80 feet high, and the breach is about 40 broad. It is at this breach, I imagine, the Horites were smote,” says the celebrated Mr. Wortley Montague; “four miles beyond the present ruins of Pharan; for having passed this breach, they could make a stand, nor could they well be pursued.” Accordingly the word *descend* may be understood to signify plunging deeper into the Wilderness, without regard to the height or lowness of the ground.

But if this thought should be looked upon as somewhat strained, the first representation, derived from the Arabs leading their flocks and herds into some sequestered valley, where they may lie unmolested, makes the image of the prophet a natural and lively representation enough of the state of safety, in the Wilderness, into which God conducted Israel through the Red-Sea, and sufficiently remote from what is mean and trifling.

* Phil. Transf. vol. 56. p. 48.

C H A P. III.

Concerning their Cities and Houses.

OBSERVATION XXVI.

THE author of the History of *Ali Bey* informs us, that the houses of the better fort in *Cairo* are built of *stone*, and generally two, and sometimes three *stories high*; but those of the lower class are built of *unburnt bricks*, and only one story high.

This gives us, at once, a short and lively commentary on those words of the prophet *Isaiah*, “ All the people shall know, even “ *Ephraim* and the inhabitants of *Samaria*, “ that say in the pride and stoutness of heart, “ The *bricks* are fallen down, but we will “ build with *hewn stones* : the *sycomores* are “ cut down, but we will change them into “ *cedars* ”.

Unburnt bricks are poor materials indeed for building, when compared with *hewn stone*, stone nearly approaching, it is probable, to *marble*, which is the difference now between the houses of the poorer *Ægyptians* and the palaces of that country; and, it should seem, was the difference anciently in *Israel* between

* Ch. 9. 9, 10.

houses of different ranks of people among them. And the opposing *bricks, unburnt bricks*, to a material so much more beautiful and durable as *stone*, if not *marble*, is placing the *vaunting* of Israel in a very strong point of light: "The *bricks* are "fallen down, but we will build with *hewn stones*."

The image appears to vary, when the prophet speaks of *sycomores and cedars*, and from the demolition of *houses*, he seems to turn his thoughts to the destruction of their *woods*, since he uses the term *cut down*, not *pulled down*, as it should have been, had he been speaking of the ruin of houses, built with different degrees of expensiveness in the wood-work, where cedar was reckoned a most magnificent material¹; but Isaiah seems rather to refer to the Eastern way of making war, by cutting down the trees of a country², "The *sycomores*," (which grew in abundance in the low-lands of Judæa³, and were not much esteemed,) "are cut down, but "we will change them into cedars," (planting the precious cedar in the room of despicable *sycomores*).

This same passage teaches us, that when *great houses* are spoken of in the Scriptures, it should seem that we are to understand the term as expressing their much superior

¹ See 2 Sam. 7. 2. Jer. 22. 14, 15.

² Observations, vol. 2. ch. 8. obs. 20.

³ 1 Kings 10. 27. 2 Chron. 1. 15. ch. 9. 27.

height,

height, as well as the *extent* of the ground that they covered—two or *three stories* high, while common houses had only the ground-floor.

OBSERVATION XXVII.

What makes the comparison used by our Lord so painful to the mind, when he said, "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God¹," seems to be it's appearing quite unnatural, as we are wont to have no conception of it's being at all in use to make a camel pass through any narrow passage. Very widely extended deserts is the idea we associate with that of a camel; such an animal's being put to force it's way through a narrow passage we have no notion of: it therefore appears unnatural, and gives us uneasiness. But this is wholly owing to our unacquaintedness with local circumstances.

I have elsewhere given an account of it's being common for the Arabs to ride into houses, and commit acts of great violence, if measures are not taken to prevent them. The Eastern *doors* therefore are often made very low, in order to guard against them², not above three feet in height.

¹ Matt. 19. 24, and in two of the other Evangelists.

² Observ. vol. 1. ch. 2. obs. 8.

This

This keeps out the Arabs, who are almost *centaurs*, and seldom tempted to dismount in their excursions, but, we should suppose, must be very inconvenient for the inhabitants, who make so much use of camels, and must often want to introduce them into their court-yards ; but, though they are so much taller than the Arab horses, this is done however by training up their camels, not only to *kneel down* when they are loaded and unloaded, but to make their way *on their knees* through such small door-ways.

This must sometimes, without doubt, be attended with great *difficulty*, and makes the comparison of our Lord sufficiently natural : *It would be as easy to force a camel through a door-way as small as the eye of a needle, as for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.*

Strong painting this, according to the Eastern custom ! it is allowed ; but nothing unnatural, since camels are often forced through a small aperture, though certainly much larger than the eye of the largest needle that ever was made ; the Arabs of the times of our Lord, and indeed long before¹, being of the same plundering disposition with those of the present generation, and consequently must have been guarded against in much the same manner.

I have not only met with an account in some book of Travels, of camels making

¹ Jer. 3. 2,

their way on their knees through the low Eastern door-ways ; but I have found in the papers of a very ingenious clergyman, containing observations of a similar kind to these, that he had been assured by a gentleman that lived many years in Morocco, that the entrances into the houses there are low for a similar reason, and that loaded camels pass them on their knees.

OBSERVATION XXVIII.

That serpents sometimes concealed themselves in the holes and chinks of the walls of the Eastern houses, is supposed by the prophet Amos, when he says, "As if a man did flee from a lion, and a bear did meet him ; or went into the house, and leaned his hand on the wall, and a serpent bit him".

This is confirmed by a remarkable story, in the collections made by M. d'Herbelot from the Eastern writers, which is in substance as follows. *Amadeddulat*, who reigned in Persia in the 10th century, and was a most generous prince, found himself reduced to great difficulties, arising from his want of attention to his treasury, his troops beginning to disband themselves from want of pay, when Fortune, which had raised him from a

very low state, (for he was nothing more than the son of a fisherman, who exercised his occupation on the Caspian-Sea,) undertook to maintain him in it. *For, walking one day in one of the rooms of his palace, which had been before that time the residence of Jacout, who had been his antagonist, he perceived a serpent, which put it's head out of a chink of the wall. Upon which he immediately ordered that the place should be searched, and the serpent killed. In opening the wall there, they found a secret place, in which they could not discover the serpent, but a treasure, which was lodged in several coffers, in which Jacout had deposited his most precious effects, consisting of gold, jewels, and clothes* ¹.

In like manner, I remember to have met with an account, in some of our travellers into the Levant, though I cannot exactly point out the place, in which the writer gives an account of their being alarmed by a person's being stung by a *scorpion*, which was concealed in an hole of the wall of an *house* in which they then were, and on which that person had inadvertently laid his hand.

As venomous animals creep, not unfrequently, into holes in the walls of houses, so we shall have occasion, in a succeeding Observation, to take notice of the looser structure of many of the walls about their grounds, where it is reasonable to believe these venomous creatures still oftner hide themselves.

¹ Art. Amadeddulat.

OBSERVATION XXIX.

The manner of building *walls*, partly of stones, and in part of other materials, continues in the East to this day.

So de la Roque assures us, from the Memoirs from which he drew the account which he has published of Arabia the Happy, with which he was furnished by the French captain that went thither in 1708, *that the city of Moka is surrounded with walls built after the ancient manner, partly of stone, the rest of earth mixed with straw, and rammed hard down, if I understand his words aright*¹.

This might do very well in a country where it seldom rains, which it seems is the case at Moka, it not having rained when he arrived there of two years before²; yet in Judæa, and some of the neighbouring countries, where there are frequent rains in winter, and sometimes the showers very heavy, it seems they had another mode of building their walls: instead of stones and unburnt bricks, or something very much like them, they were wont to make their walls partly of stone, and partly of wood. So the wall of the court of the temple of Solomon was originally built³, and such was the structure of it when it was rebuilt, on the return of

¹ Moitié de pierres, moitié de terre battue avec de la paille, p. 91. ² P. 100. ³ 1 Kings, 7. 12.

the

the Jewish people from their captivity in Babylon', by the direction of the king of Persia.

Their great cities, it should seem, were walled about in much the same manner: I do not know else how to account for what is said of the *burning the wall of Gaza with fire*, which is spoken of by the prophet Amos, ch. i. 6. The walls of Tyre and Rabbah appear to have been of a like structure, v. 10, 14. Such walls were capable of being set on fire. The walls of the old *Russian* cities, it is very well known, were oftentimes *wholly* formed of huge beams of timber laid one upon another, and firmly fastened together.

OBSERVATION XXX.

Many people have been much surprized at the *largeness of the stones* that are found in the ruins of some ancient buildings, especially of some that were raised on the *tops of high hills*.

The remains of some structures on the top of Mount *Tabor* have, in particular, been much wondered at on this account. "This mountain," according to le Bruyn, "is very high and very steep, nearly of the form of a sugar-loaf. And as it was not

* Ezra 6. 4.

“ to be ascended on horse-back, we alighted
“ at the foot of the mountain. We were
“ half an hour in climbing it, and arrived
“ at the top very much fatigued.” In the
next page he says, “ I found here the remains
“ of many buildings, the stones of which
“ being extraordinary large and heavy, could
“ not have been brought thither but with
“ incredible labour; for it cannot be said
“ that they were taken from the mountain
“ itself, which is not of a rocky nature,
“ nor stony; on the contrary it is, from the
“ bottom to the top, quite covered with trees
“ and underwood.”

It seems to have been from the consideration of the extreme labour and difficulty attending the erection of such massive buildings, in such *elevated* situations, that the prophet Zechariah says, “ Who art thou,
“ *O great mountain?* Before Zerubbabel thou
“ *shalt become a plain*, and he shall bring forth
“ the head-stone thereof with shouting, crying, Grace, Grace, unto it. Ch. 4. 7.
Nothing could excite a more lively apprehension of the difficulty of re-edifying the temple at Jerusalem, than an image of this kind, and at the same time of the comparative ease with which it was to be accomplished. It appeared beforehand like the erecting of a structure composed of enormous stones on the top of an high hill, but would in fact

* Tome 2. p. 328.

be found as easy as erecting a great building on a plain.

OBSERVATION XXXI.

The ancient Jewish *windows* seem not to have been of one kind: two different words are used in the Hebrew to express these conveniences, and other circumstances lead us to apprehend they were of two sorts: the one very *small*, and used only for looking abroad in a *concealed manner*; the other *large* and airy.

Irwin, in his Voyage up the Red-Sea, has unintentionally given us a description of the first of these, expressed in the Hebrew by the term *Arubbah*, which is also, it should seem, used to express those *openings* through which *pigeons* passed into the cavities of the rocks, or into those buildings which were designed for the reception of their nests, in Isaiah lx. 8.

Speaking of their abode, and indeed of a sort of confinement which they suffered, at Ghinnah, in the Upper Ægypt, Irwin says¹, *that one of the windows of the house in which they lodged, and through which they looked into the street, more resembled a pigeon-hole, than any thing else.* And in a succeeding page², describes the windows as *very small*

¹ P. 185.² P. 201.

and very high. The word is indeed derived from a root which expresses the laying in wait for a person, such people looking through small holes, waiting for the approach of their prey.

In that early state of things, and in a country where *fires* were but little used, it is no wonder that one and the same word is used for one of these *peeping-holes*, and for an *outlet to smoke*¹. In our own country, a few centuries ago, chimneys were little in use, and an hole, in or near the top of the room, was thought sufficient for the smoke's discharge.

The other kind of windows, expressed by a very different word, were large enough to throw a person of *mature age* out of them, as happened in the case of *Jezebel*². Lattices were in use, we know³, before that time, but they appear not to have been universally used, even in those large windows; or, if they

¹ For in that sense it is used, Hof. 13. 3.

² 2 Kings 9. 30, 32, 33.

³ From Judges 5. 28. The window of Rahab, through which she let down the two Israelitish spies, was of the same large sort, as the circumstances show; and the binding the cord in a *net-work* form in the window, might appear natural enough, as answering the purpose of a *lattice*, and so occasion no suspicion. Perhaps it was previously to this made use of for that purpose, and might be of *scarlet*, as women of her profession in the East, at this day, affect magnificence extremely, and might do so then. It is otherwise difficult to account for it's colour. Certainly the Eastern lattices now are made of very different materials, wood, metal, marble, &c.

were, were moveable. The windows of the *Oratory of Daniel*¹ seem to have been quite open to view, when the shutters were removed, since *Daniel* chose to make his testimony to the exclusive worship of God, neglected by others, as public as might be, whereas the action would have been a good deal concealed by thick-worked lattices.

It may not be improper to add, that the word that expresses those very *small* windows is used by Solomon in Eccles. xii, where he compares the human body to an house, and, as it should seem, to a *palace* with guards, &c. Consequently the windows of the *apartments of the women* that opened outward, were in those days wont to be very small. The *quality of Jexèbel*, and her circumstances, at that time, were very particular, and will not afford any proof of the contrary of what I have been now observing.

OBSERVATION XXXII.

The prophet Zephaniah gives us to understand three things, by one short passage in his book of sacred predictions: the one, that the pillars of his time were wont to have *capitals*; that when the buildings to which they belonged were reduced to desolation, *birds* not unfrequently took possession of these

¹ Dan. 6. 10.

capitals;

capitals ; and that those capitals he was acquainted with resembled a pomegranate.

The passage I refer to is in the 2d ch. the 14th ver. " The flocks shall lie down in the midst of her, all the beasts of the nations ; both the *cormorant* and the *bit-tern* shall lodge in the *upper lintels* of it ;" or, according to the marginal reading, the " knops or chapiters."

The word translated *upper lintels*, and *knops or chapiters*, signifies *pomegranates*, and shows what the shape of the *capitals of pillars* were with which Zephaniah was acquainted. Some of the very ancient *Ægyptian* and *Persian* capitals, that remain to this time, are of very odd and fantastic shapes ; the Jewish style of architecture seems to have been of a *chaster* and more *simple* nature in this point. The capitals of the two pillars in the porch of the Temple were, probably, of the same shape of a pomegranate.

As to the other circumstance, *birds lodging* on the capitals of forsaken temples and palaces, I would set down a remark of Sir John Chardin here, who, describing the magnificent pillars that he found at *Persepolis*, tells us, " The *storks* (birds respected by the Persians) make their nests on the top of these columns, with great boldness, and in no danger of being dispossessed."

¹ Tome 3. p. 108.

What the two Hebrew words precisely signify, which we translate the *cormorant* and the *bittern*, is not agreed upon among the learned; probably neither of them means the *stork*, which was found at Persopolis to have taken up it's abode in such places; other birds may have a like turn: but it must make a reader smile, that attends to the circumstance mentioned by *Zephaniah*¹, to find the *venerable Bishops*, of Queen Elizabeth's time, translating the second of these two words *otters*, in Is. xiv. 23; which they render *storkes* in Is. xxxiv. 11; and *owles* in Zephaniah ii. 14. How unhappy that a word that occurs but three times in the Hebrew Bibles, should be translated by three different words, and that one of them should be *otters*! This is, however, as plausible a way of rendering this word, as their's who translate it *hedge-hog*.

Which is done by the learned Dr. *Shaw*², on the account of the *resemblance* between the Arabic word, which signifies *hedge-hog*, and the second of these Hebrew words; which was what probably induced the Septuagint to translate it after this manner. Had the

¹ Of taking up their abode on the *tops of pillars*.

² "The near analogy also betwixt *kunfood*, the Arabic name of the hedge-hog, (which is here very common,) and the Hebrew קפוד *kephode*, (Is. 34. 11, &c.) should induce us to take it for that *quadruped*, according to the LXX *εχινος*, rather than for the *bittern*, as we translate it." P. 176.

Doctor recollected that Zephaniah describes them as choosing their abode on the top of pillars, he might have been of a different opinion, as though a likeness in a modern name to one of ancient times deserves *consideration*, it is not *equally decisive* with characters of description derived from natural history.

But though it appears to mean a *bird*, it doth not follow that the prophet intended a *bittern*.

OBSERVATION XXXIII.

Most people that read the succeeding clause of that passage of *Zephaniab*, which I cited under the last Observation, have been ready, I apprehend, to understand the next words as expressive of the *melancholy* interruption of the silence that at other times reigns in desolated cities, by the doleful noises made by wild creatures that resort thither: "Their voice" (or rather "a voice") shall sing in "the windows;" but a passage in *le Bruyn's* description of *Persopolis* makes this *doubtful*.

"I found also," says this traveller, in this place, "besides the birds I have already mentioned", four or five sorts of small birds,

¹ "Cranes, storks, ducks, and herons of various sorts; partridges, snipes, quails, pigeons, sparrowhawks, and above all crows, with which all Persia is filled." Tome 4. p. 302.

“ who keep constantly in these ruins and the
 “ (adjoining) mountain, and who make the
 “ most agreeable warbling in the world. The
 “ singing of the larks approaches very near
 “ to that of the nightingale. Some of them
 “ are almost all black ; others have the head
 “ and body spotted, of the size of a swallow ;
 “ others are smaller and of different colours,
 “ yellowish, grey, and quite white, shaped
 “ like a chaffinch ‘.”

Babylon and Nineveh were both to be made desolate, but their circumstances *might* be, and, according to the predictions of the prophets, *actually were* to be very different. *Babylon* was to be *never inhabited*, no *Arabian* was to pitch his tent there, nor *shepherds* make their fold there, but *wild beasts of the desert* were to lie there, and their houses to be filled with *doleful creatures*, *Is. xiii. 20, 21.* But *flocks* were to lie down in *Nineveh*, and the *beasts of the neighbouring people*, and the *voice of singing* be heard from the windows, or holes of its *ruinated palaces.* *Zeph. ii. 14.*

These are different, and, in some respects, *opposite descriptions* ; *Eastern flocks* suppose *songs and instruments of music* would be heard in *Nineveh* ; while no *shepherd* should ever appear in the ruins of *Babylon*. In like manner, instead of the *doleful creatures* of the last, the *warbling of birds* might be intended, in *Zephaniah's* account of *Nineveh*, equally

pleasing with what le Bruyn heard at *Persepolis*. The imagination finds a fine contrast between the inartificial songs and music of shepherds, mingled with the wild notes of singing birds; and the luxurious concerts¹ of Nineveh: as well as between the awful silence, interrupted by the howlings of doleful and savage creatures of ruined Babylon; and the melody of former times there. Though less gloomy, and overwhelming to the mind, would the ruins of Nineveh in that case appear to a traveller, than those of Babylon.

OBSERVATION XXXIV.

The Scriptures, in describing the ruined state into which some celebrated cities were to be reduced, represents them, not unfrequently², as so to be desolated, that no shepherds with flocks should haunt them, which supposes they were to be found on the remains of others.

This is a proper representation of *complete destruction*. For, in the East, it is common for shepherds to make use of remaining ruins, to shelter their flocks from the heat of the

¹ In both *Nineveh* and *Babylon*, without doubt, as well as in *Jerusalem*, the harp and the viol, the tabret and the pipe, and wine, were in their frequent feasts; but they regarded not the work of the Lord, nor the operation of his hands, *H. 5. 12.*

² See *I. 13. 20. Jer. 49. 18, &c.*

middle of the day, and from the dangers of the night,

So Dr. Chandler, after mentioning the exquisite remains of a temple of Apollo, in Asia Minor, which were such as that it was impossible perhaps to conceive greater beauty and majesty of ruin, goes on¹, “At evening
“ a large flock of goats, returning to the
“ fold, their bells tinkling, spread over the
“ heap, climbing to browse on the shrubs
“ and trees growing between the huge
“ stones.”

Another passage of the same writer shows, that they make use of ruins also to guard their flocks from the noon-tide heat. Speaking of Aiasaluck, generally understood to be the ancient Ephesus, and certainly near the site of that old city, and at least it's successor, he says², “An herd of goats was
“ driven to it for shelter from the sun at
“ noon; and a noisy flight of crows from
“ the quarries seemed to insult it's silence.
“ We heard the partridge call in the area
“ of the theatre and of the stadium. The
“ glorious pomp of it's heathen worship is
“ no longer remembered; and Christianity,
“ which was there nursed by apostles, and
“ fostered by general councils, until it increased to fulness of stature, barely lingers
“ on in an existence hardly visible.”

This description is very gloomy and melan-

¹ Travels, p. 151.

² P. 130, 131.

choly ; however, the usefulness of these ruins is such, for the habitation of those that tend flocks, that it often prevents a place's being quite desolate, and continues it among inhabited places, though miserably ruined. Such is the state of Ephesus : it is described by Chandler, as making a very *gloomy and melancholy* appearance, but as not absolutely without people. " Our horses," says he, " were disposed among the walls and rubbish, " with their saddles on ; and a mat was " spread for us on the ground. We sat " here, in the open air, while supper was " preparing ; when suddenly, *fires began to " blaze up among the bushes*, and we saw " the villagers collected about them in savage groups, or passing to and fro with " lighted brands for torches. The flames, " with the stars and a pale moon, afforded " us a dim prospect of ruin and desolation ². " A shrill owl, called Cucuvaia from it's " note, with a night-hawk, flitted near us ;

¹ P. 115.

² This description may be placed after Zeph. 2. 7, as a most lively comment on that passage of the prophet, " And " the coast shall be for the remnant of the house of Judah, " they shall feed thereupon, *in the houses of Ashkelon* shall " they lie down in the EVENING : for the Lord their God " shall visit them, and turn away their captivity." But the account that follows there, of the animals they found in those ruins, the *Cucuvaian owl*, the *night-hawk*, and the *jackall*, may not with precision answer the Hebrew words of the 14th verse, translated the *cormorant* and the *bittern* in our version, and that translated by the Bishop of Waterford the *raven*, instead of desolation.

" and

“ and a jackall cried mournfully, as if forsaken by his companions, on the mountain.”

Those places spoken of by the prophets might have been inhabited, though terribly ruined, as Aiasaluck is now by a few poor shepherds, and the ruins might have afforded the poor people there a miserable habitation; but the spirit of prophecy speaks of the destruction of some cities as more thoroughly complete: even shepherds were not to make use of their ruins, but entire desolation take place.

And though wild Arabs, as well as other shepherds, might sometimes find a comfortable retreat under the ruins, yet at other times they might want a tent, for Dr. Chandler slept, it seems, in the open air, which shows a want of such *arched* remains as might have sheltered him in the ruins of Ephesus. Not to say that the Arabs, who commonly live in tents, might choose oftentimes to erect them, when they might in a different manner have covered themselves from the injuries of the night-air. This will account for what is said, Is. xiii. 20, “ It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation: neither shall the Arabian *pitch tent* there, neither shall the shepherds make their fold there.”

OBSERVATION XXXV.

A grotto or cave must be imagined to be to them that live in tents the most convenient stable they could have; nor would it be a despicable advantage to them that live in more fixed habitations: there is nothing then improbable in the tradition, that our Lord, who was confessedly born in a *stable*, was born in a *grotto* in or very near the city of Bethlehem.

The celebrated *Reland*, in his account of Bethlehem¹, takes notice of a remark of Mr. Maundrell, ² that many of the sacred places which are shown to pilgrims in the Holy-Land are subterraneous, so that almost all the facts that are recorded in the sacred history must have happened in grottos. Among others, a grotto is shown as the place of our Lord's nativity in Bethlehem. With respect to this, *Reland* takes some pains to show, that this was supposed before the æra at which Maundrell imagined that great veneration for grottos took place, which was after the time that hermits were wont to choose them for their dwelling-places, who became so highly esteemed in the church. He shows in particular, that *Origen*, who lived a considerable time before these hermits, yet writing

¹ Palæstina, p. 648.

² See his Journey, p. 114. ed. 5.
against

against Celfus remarked, that the *cave* in which our Lord was born was shown *in his time*. This he mentions, that it might not be thought to be an invention of after-times.

Maundrell certainly made such a remark, upon occasion of his visiting Mount Tabor. This perpetual pointing out grottos, he thought, in some cases, very improbable, the condition and the circumstances of the actions themselves seeming to require places of another nature. Among these he mentions the places of the Baptist's and our Lord's nativity, and where St. Anne was delivered of the Blessed Virgin; but whether all these were among the things that, according to his views, could not probably have happened in subterraneous places, is not certain; and if he thought, as to two of them, it was improbable, it doth not follow he thought so as to the place of our Lord's birth. The truth seems to be, that he was struck with the improbability of some of these traditions, and then mentioning particulars, as to things said to happen in caves of the earth, he did not stop nicely to weigh the probability or improbability of *every* thing he mentioned.

As to the place in which our Lord was born, it was supposed to have been in a cave in the time of Origen, long before the hermits obtained such veneration; to which I would add, that his being born *in a stable*, makes the supposition very natural.

For

For natural or artificial grottos are very common in the Eastern countries, particularly in Judæa, and are often used for their cattle. So Dr. Pococke observes, that “ there were three uses for grottos ; for they served either for *sepulchres*, *cisterns*, or as *retreats* for herdsmen and their cattle in bad weather, and especially in the winter-nights : this may account for the great number of grottos *all over the Holy-Land*, in which, at this time, many families live in winter, and drive their cattle into them by night, as a fence both against the weather and wild beasts’.”

OBSERVATION XXXVI.

Plantations of trees about houses are found very useful in *hot countries*, to give them an agreeable coolness. The ancient Israelites seem to have made use of the same means, and probably planted fruit-trees, rather than other kinds, to produce that effect.

“ It is their manner in many places,” says Sir Thomas Row’s chaplain², speaking of the country of the Great Mogul, “ to plant about, and amongst their buildings, trees which grow high and broad, the shadow whereof keeps their houses by far more cool : this I observed in a special manner, when we

¹ Trav. into the East, vol. 2. p. 48.

² P. 399.

“ were

“ were ready to enter *Amadavar* ; for it appeared to us, as if we had been entering a wood rather than a city.”

The expression, in the Old Testament, of people's dwelling under their vines and their fig-trees, seems strongly to intimate, that this method anciently obtained much in Judæa¹ ; and that vines and fig-trees were what were commonly used in that country.

Nor was this management at all to be wondered at: as the ancient patriarchs found it very agreeable to pitch their tents under the shade of some thick tree², their children might naturally be disposed to plant them about their houses.

And as it was requisite for them to raise as many eatables as they could, in so very populous a country as that was, it is no wonder they planted fig-trees, whose shade was *thickened by vines*, about their houses, under which they might sit in the open air, and yet in the cool.

This writer mentions another circumstance, in which there is an evident similarity between the ancient Jews and these more Eastern people : “ But for their houses in their *aldeas*, or villages, which stand very thick in that country, they are generally very poor and base. All those country-dwellings are set up *close together* ; for I never observed any house there to stand single, and alone³. ”

¹ 1 Kings 4. 25.

² Gen. 18. 1, 4, 8.

³ P. 400.

The account the Baron de Tott gives of the Ægyptian villages, shows they are shaded in much the same manner, part 4. p. 63.

“ Wherever the inundation can reach, there habitations are erected, on little hills, raised for that purpose, which serve for the common foundation of all the houses which stand together, and which are contrived to take up as little room as possible, that they may save all the ground they can for cultivation. This precaution is necessary to prevent the water’s washing away the walls, which are only of mud.

“ The villages are always surrounded by an infinite number of pointed turrets, meant to invite thither the pigeons, in order to collect the dung. *Every village* has, likewise, a small *wood of palm-trees* near it, the property of which is common: these supply the inhabitants with dates for their consumption, and leaves for fabrication of baskets, mats, and other things of that kind. Little causeways, raised, in like manner, above the inundation, preserve a communication during the time it lasts.”

Palm-trees, according to this, are planted universally about the Ægyptian villages; had they been as generally about the Jewish towns, *Jericho* would hardly have been called the *city of palm-trees**, by way of distinction from

* Deut. 34. 3. 2 Chron. 28. 15.

the rest. It appears to have been, in Judæa, rather a peculiarity.

But the Jewish towns and houses might be wont to be surrounded by other trees, proper for their use, which probably were vines and fig-trees, which furnished two great articles of food for *their* consumption, and the cuttings of their vines must have been useful to them for fuel¹. That plantations of some sort of trees were common about the Jewish towns, may be deduced even from the term used in their language for a village, which is derived from a root that signifies to *cover* or *hide*.

OBSERVATION XXXVII.

In my preface to the preceding volumes of Observations on the Scriptures I observed, that transactions and customs in countries very remote from Judæa, may throw some light over particular passages of Scripture, in the same way as Buchanan's relations, of the manners of the ancient Scots, are found to illustrate some circumstances recorded by Homer, which immediately relate to Greek and Asiatic heroes; the very ingenious Mr. King seems to have fallen into the same way of thinking, in a very long, but curious paper

¹ Ezek. 15. 6. I have indeed experimentally found the larger cuttings of the vine make excellent fuel, of the slighter sort, and they wanted little other in Judæa.

of his, relating to our old British castles, read to the Antiquarian Society, and published by them in the 6th volume of the *Archæologia*.

“ I should be sorry to indulge myself in carrying conjectures, relating to high antiquity, too far ; but, when I consider with what care and pains a magnificent *state-room* has been formed, in every one of these kind of *towers of entrance*, I cannot but reflect upon what we so often read, with regard to the earliest ages of the world, of kings *sitting in the gates of cities*, and of judgment being administered *in the gate*.”

This note relates immediately to a noble room over the gate-way of the castle at Tunbridge in Kent, of which the plan is given us in the 34th plate of that volume, but which is nothing peculiar to that castle, for similar rooms were found by him in other ancient buildings of that kind.

This state-room, he tells us², “ appears to have been very magnificent, and of great dimensions, including the whole area of all the three rooms beneath³. It is now indeed divided into three such apartments as those are, but the walls forming the divisions are mere modern erections, of very

¹ P. 290, 291, Note.

² P. 284, &c.

³ Consequently must have been about 52 feet long, from the measures he gives us of the lower rooms, the thickness of the walls on each side of the passage into the castle, and the breadth of the passage itself.

“ late years, raised (as the proprietor in-
 “ formed me) on the top of the original ones
 “ in the lower floor, with a view to fit up a
 “ small room as a library; which design was
 “ afterwards laid aside.”

In this state-room is a large fire-hearth
 and chimney, and “ two very fine large win-
 “ dows, highly ornamented, in the style that
 “ began to be introduced in the time of King
 “ John, and in the earliest part of the reign
 “ of Henry III; but they appear to have had
 “ no glass, and to have been fenced only
 “ with iron bars, and wooden shutters; as
 “ is known to have been the usage in early
 “ times.

—“ It was no less than 17 feet in height.

“ The beams of the floor (for greater
 “ strength) were placed much nearer to each
 “ other than those of the floor beneath: indeed
 “ they are hardly the width of a beam asun-
 “ der; and seem to have been intended to
 “ support occasionally the weight of a great
 “ concourse of people.

—“ The ceiling of this room was still
 “ more remarkable than the floor, being no
 “ less than three feet in thickness; designed
 “ manifestly to support not only the *lead*
 “ of the flat roof, but moreover the *great*
 “ *weight* of balistas, catapultas, and other
 “ engines of war, placed there occasional-
 “ ly.”

If there were such rooms in the towers of
 entrance into the Jewish cities, it is no wonder
 they

they made use of them for the *elders* to sit in, when they held their courts of judicature.

This gentleman goes no farther in his attempt to illustrate the Scriptures, but I would beg leave to pursue the thought. In describing the ground-floor of this tower of entrance, after the first portcullis, which was of an enormous size, he tells us was a *pair of strong gates*¹; about 15 feet farther was *another pair of great gates*, if the plan is drawn with exactness; and after them a second portcullis. In the middle of the whole passage, and between the two pair of great gates, were two small door-ways, one on each side, both secured by a strong portcullis first, and then by an iron door, which led to the two apartments, on either side the gate-way one. The room on the left hand had no chimney, and seems to have served merely for lodging stores, but that on the right had a large fire-place, and adjoining to it, in the wall, a recess, which served for a privy. Similar rooms were over these, and above them the grand state-room, to which they ascended by stair-cases, to which they went through the lower rooms, as from the state-room stair-cases led to the leads, or open top of the building.

After this I would set down the description that the sacred historian gives us, of the situation of David in the entrance of *Mahanaim*, during the battle fought between his adherents

¹ P. 280, &c.

and Absalom, and immediately after¹. “ And
 “ David sat between the *two gates*²: and the
 “ watchman went up to the *roof over the*
 “ *gate* unto the wall, and lift up his eyes and
 “ looked, and behold a man running alone.
 “ And the watchman cried and told the king.
 “ And the king said, If he is alone, there is
 “ tidings in his mouth. . . . And the watch-
 “ man saw another man running, and the
 “ watchman called unto the *porter*, and said,
 “ Behold, another man running alone. And
 “ the king said, He also bringeth tidings. . . .
 “ And Ahimaaz called, and said unto the
 “ king, All is well. . . . And the king said,
 “ Turn aside, and *stand here*. And he turned
 “ aside, and stood still. And behold Cushi
 “ came. . . . And the king said unto Cushi,
 “ Is the young man Absalom safe? And
 “ Cushi answered, The enemies of my lord
 “ the king, and all that rise against thee to
 “ do thee hurt, be as that young man is.
 “ And the king was much moved, and went
 “ up to the *chamber over the gate*, and wept:
 “ and as he went, thus he said, O my son
 “ Absalom, &c! Then the king rose,
 “ and *sat in the gate*: and they told unto all
 “ the people, saying, Behold, the king doth
 “ sit in the gate: and all the people came

¹ 2 Sam. 18. 24—33. ch. 19. 8.

² Not two different entrances into that city through different places of it's wall, but two different gates in one and the same tower of entrance. This Bishop Patrick saw, and remarks in his commentary on this place.

“ before

“ before the king : for Israel had fled every
“ man to his tent.”

Here we see this tower of entrance into Mahanaim furnished, like the castle at Tunbridge, with *two pair of gates*, the one at a distance from the other ; the king sitting between them, not, we may justly believe, in the *passage itself*, so as to block up the way, or at all to incommode those that might be going or coming, but in a *room by the side of the way*, as in the English castle ; we find a watchman stationed on the *top of this tower* of entrance, made, without doubt, commodious for that purpose, by stair-cases communicating with each other from the bottom to the top, as the English structure was flat, and covered with lead, for the purpose of descrying at a distance those that were approaching, as well as wounding assailants ; we find the observations made by this watchman were not communicated by him immediately to the king, but by the intervention of a warder at the outer gate of this tower ; and that there was a communication between this lower room, in which David first placed himself, and the upper room over the gateway, for by that means he retired to give freer vent to his sorrows. All that appears uncertain is, in what part of this building he sat, (for it is evident he continued in some part of the gate,) when he returned his

‘ Ch. 19. v. 8.

thanks to his officers and people for their exertions in his favour, or, in the language of the historian, spake to the hearts of his servants¹, and when he received their compliments of congratulation: it is, I say, somewhat uncertain, whether he met his friends in the *upper chamber*, whither he retired to mourn, which the author of the paper in the *Archæologia* would call the state-room; or in the room *where he first sat* between the two gates; or in some *other apartment* of that building. *Joab* indeed, we are told, with great roughness laid before him the necessity of laying aside his mourning, of appearing in public, and graciously acknowledging the service his people had done him, in doing which he calls upon him to arise and *go forth*; but this doth not inform us *where* he sat in state, only we *know* from the following verse², that it was somewhere *in the gate*. And the words *go forth* might even only mean, arise from the ground on which thou liest, *go out of this closet*, or this obscure *corner*³, where thou hast given up thyself to mourning, into this adjoining state-room, and appear like thyself, the king of Israel, to whom God has preserved the crown, *on a seat of dignity* suitable to thy present state.

¹ See ch. 19. v. 7, margin.

² The 8th.

³ And Mr. King has shown, that very frequently small recesses attended these public rooms in or over the gates of our old English castles.

We fit not now, in *common*, in the gates of our public buildings, but Bishop Pococke, when he travelled in these countries, found this ancient custom still kept up. So speaking of the ancient *Byblus*, he says, "When I returned from viewing the town, the sheik and the elders were sitting in the gate of the city, *after the ancient manner*, and I sat a while with them."

There is another circumstance relating to this old castle at Tunbridge, which is mentioned in this same paper of the *Archæologia*, and which should not be passed over in silence here, and that is the use of pitch, instead of lime, for cementing stones together. On digging at the bottom of the foss, he tells the Antiquarian Society, "were found remaining the foundations of two piers, which supported the bridge; and which were constructed in a very remarkable manner, the stones being *laid in pitch*, mixed with hair, instead of *mortar*."

When then it is said in the book of *Genesis*², that in building the tower of Babel they had *slime for mortar*, by which *bitumen* is supposed to be meant, which very much resembles pitch, and which pitchy substance the earth throws out in various places, it is not a necessary consequence, derivable from that account, that it was the *first* kind of cement that ever was made use of, since the use

¹ Trav. vol. 2. p. 98.

² Gen. 11. 3.

thanks to his officers and people for their exertions in his favour, or, in the language of the historian, spake to the hearts of his servants¹, and when he received their compliments of congratulation : it is, I say, somewhat uncertain, whether he met his friends in the *upper chamber*, whither he retired to mourn, which the author of the paper in the *Archæologia* would call the state-room; or in the room *where he first sat* between the two gates; or in some *other apartment* of that building. *Joab* indeed, we are told, with great roughness laid before him the necessity of laying aside his mourning, of appearing in public, and graciously acknowledging the service his people had done him, in doing which he calls upon him to arise and *go forth*; but this doth not inform us *where* he sat in state, only we *know* from the following verse², that it was somewhere *in the gate*. And the words *go forth* might even only mean, arise from the ground on which thou liest, *go out of this closet*, or this *obscure corner*³, where thou hast given up thyself to mourning, into this adjoining state-room, and appear like thyself, the king of Israel, to whom God has preserved the crown, *on a seat of dignity* suitable to thy present state.

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¹ Trav. vol. 2. p. 98.

² Gen. 11. 3.

of lime might be known in that age, and the bitumen be used notwithstanding, as pitch in the castle at Tunbridge, for it's supposed strength.

Many structures of stone have been raised up without any cement at all, and there are some such still remaining in *Scotland*, as appears by the papers of the Antiquarian Society¹, so artfully were the stones laid; but when the Tunbridge castle was built, the use of lime was certainly well known in England: *pitch* must have been chosen on account of it's supposed strength; *bitumen* might be used for the same reason, in the construction of the tower of Babel.

The *early use of burnt brick* in the building that tower, deserves attention too: "They said one to another, Go to, let us make brick, and burn them thoroughly. And they had brick for stone, and slime had they for mortar." A great part, perhaps the largest, of the bricks that are used at this day in these countries are only *dried in the sun*.

OBSERVATION XXXVIII.

The same ingenious gentleman², in the same paper of observations on our old castles,

¹ Niebuhr found many buildings in the southern part of Arabia, that had no cement, but were formed of loose stones placed with some management on each other. Voy. tom. I.

² Archæol. v. 6. p. 293.

gives us a note designed to illustrate, though with great modesty, another passage of Scripture, which it may not be amiss to add to the preceding,

“ When I read (in the 9th ch. of the 2d book of Kings) that on Jehu’s being anointed king over Israel, at Ramoth-Gilead, the captains of the host, who were then sitting in council, as soon as they heard thereof, took every man his garment, and put it under him, *on the top of the stairs*; and blew with trumpets, proclaiming, *Jehu is king*; and when I consider the account given by Herodotus, of the ancient Ecbatana, which was at no great distance from Syria, and in a country much connected with it; and reflect also on the appearance of the top of the stair-cases both at Lancaster and *Connisborough**; when, I say, I consider all these circumstances, I am very apt to conclude, that at either of the two latter places is still to be beheld, nearly the same kind of scenery, as to building, which was exhibited to the world, on the remarkable occasion of inaugurating Jehu at Ramoth-

* According to the 23d plate of this volume, which gives us representations of this castle at Connisborough, in one corner of a court, strongly walled in, is a keep, or tower of peculiar strength, to which the ascent is by a narrow, steep, and dangerous flight of many steps, which Mr. King supposes might resemble the stairs ascending the tower in which Jehu was sitting in council, and on the top of which stairs he was proclaimed.

“ Gilead :

“ Gilead : but I dare not to determine precisely on a matter of such *very high antiquity* ; and leave every one to form his own conclusions, from what has been here laid before him, as to the affinity of these kinds of buildings, and the derivation of their original plan *from the East*.”

This is very ingenious, as well as amiably modest. All I would say on this obscure subject is comprised in the following particulars.

1. That Ramoth-Gilead was a place of which the possession was disputed between the kings of Syria and of the ten tribes. See 1 Kings xxii. 3.

2. That it was *at this time* in possession of Israel, 2 Kings ix. 14.

3. That *before this time* they had been wont to strengthen fortified towns, in this country, with a tower of peculiar strength built in it, to which the inhabitants fled when they apprehended the town itself not tenable against an army, or no longer so. See Judges ix. 51, viii. 9.

4. As in the earlier ages in our own country strong places were wont to be built on eminences, and we have reason to believe were so in many other countries, so we find mention made of *stairs*, for going up to or coming down from the city of David, or Zion, the strongest part of the city of Jerusalem, at least after the Temple. Nehem. iii. 15.

5. There

5. There can be nothing then improbable, not in the least, in Mr. King's supposition, that this ancient strong Jewish tower was built on an eminence, and entered into by a *flight of steps*.

6. Nor in the supposition, that in such towers, those that kept a city against dangerous enemies, as here against the Syrians, might hold their councils, in which it was requisite that the principal captains should always be present.

7. The inaugurating or proclaiming their kings was wont to be in the most public places, and with solemn music, 1 Kings, i, 40.

8. No place then more natural than somewhere upon, or on the top of the steps ascending the most elevated part of the castle of Ramoth - Gilead, in the court of which numbers of people may naturally be thought to be assembled, waiting for the result of the deliberations of the officers of the army, consulting about the best way of defending the city against the Syrians, in the absence of King Joram.

The brevity of the ancient Jewish histories necessarily leaves many circumstances unmentioned, which, at that time, might very well be passed over in neglect, and which we must supply in the best manner we are able.

Here it may not be improper to add three other particulars, in which the accounts of sacred

sacred history agree with Mr. King's account of our old English castles, and may be illustrated by it.

The one is, that sometimes there was in an old Jewish tower of defence, or castle, a smaller building, considerably stronger than the larger, answerable to the keeps in our ancient English castles. So Judges ix. 46, *in the tower* of Shechem, belonging to that town (which town was itself capable of making some resistance to an enemy) was a very strong hold, to which the people fled when they gave up defending the tower.

The second is, that this strongest inner building, though comparatively small, might have several rooms in it, as the tower in fact appears to have had, in which Jehu was sitting in council. "When thou comest thither," said Elisha to the young prophet, "look out there *Jehu* the son of Jehoshaphat, the son of Nimshi, and go in, and make him arise up from among his brethren, and carry him to an *inner chamber*, (or chamber in a chamber): then take a box of oil and pour it on his head," &c. And the prophet did accordingly¹. So the *keep* at Connisborough had three rooms, one within the other.

A third thing is, that such an inner, stronger tower might somehow or other be connected with one or more idols, by having

¹ 2 Kings 9. 2—11.

a temple within it, some room in it appropriated to idolatrous worship; or might, as to the whole of it, be committed to the patronage and protection of such or such an idol; or might be used for the safe keeping of the precious things devoted to this or that deity, and it's treasures: so Mr. King found a nich in each of the two inner rooms of the keep of Connisborough castle, which seemed to him to be designed for some of the deities of our Saxon forefathers; and in like manner the strong hold of the tower of Shechem had somehow or other a relation to *Baal-Berith*¹, Judges ix. 46. "When all the men of the tower of Shechem heard that," (that the city was taken, and that they had begun to demolish it, and appeared resolved entirely to ruin it,) "they entered into an hold of the house of the god *Berith*."

These are circumstances of resemblance that engage attention.

¹ A Syrian idol.

C H A P. IV.

Relating to their Diet.

OBSERVATION XXXIX.

DR. Russell tells us of the Eastern people, that "*as soon as they get up in a morning, they breakfast on fried eggs, cheese, honey, leban, &c.*" This is an observation I have made in a preceding volume, but I would here apply it to different purposes.

We are not to suppose, that when Solomon saith, "Wo to thee, O land, when thy king is a child, and thy princes eat in a morning," Ecclef. x. 16, that he means *absolutely* all kind of eating; but *feasting*, the indulging themselves such *length of time* in eating, and drinking *proportionably* of wine, so as improperly to *abridge* the hours that should be employed in affairs of government, and perhaps to disqualify themselves for a cool and dispassionate judgment of matters².

This is confirmed by the following words: "Blessed art thou, O land, when thy king.

¹ P. 105.

² See Prov. 31. 4, 5, which is to be understood something after the same manner: wine certainly not being absolutely to be forbidden to princes.

“ is the son of nobles, and thy princes
 “ eat in due season, for strength and not
 “ for drunkenness,” ver. 17. They may
 with propriety eat in a morning, bread, honey,
 milk, fruit, which, in summer, is a common
 breakfast with them¹, but it would be wrong
 then to drink wine as freely as in the close of
 the day.

Wine being forbidden the Mohammedans
 by their religion, and only drank by the more
 licentious among them, in a more private
 manner², it is not to be expected to appear
 in their *breakfasts*; but it is used by others,
 who are not under such restraints, in the
morning, as well as in their other repasts.

So Dr. Chandler tells us, in his Travels
 in Asia Minor: “ In this country, on account
 “ of the heat, it is usual to rise with the
 “ dawn. About day-break we received from
 “ the French consul, a Greek with a respect-
 “ able beard, a present of grapes, the clusters
 “ large and rich, with other fruits, all fresh
 “ gathered. We had, besides, bread and coffee
 “ for breakfast, and good wines, particularly
 “ one sort, of an exquisite flavour, called
 “ muscadell³.”

If they drank then wine at all in a morn-
 ing, it ought to be, according to the royal
 preacher, in small quantities, for *strength*,
 not for drunkenness.

The Eastern people, Arabians and Turks

¹ P. 107.

² P. 109.

³ P. 18.

both,

both, are observed to eat very fast, and, in common, without drinking¹; but when they *feast*, and use *wine*, they begin with fruit and sweet-meats and drinking wine, and *they sit long at table*²: *Wo to the land whose princes so eat in a morning*, eating after this manner a great variety of things, and slowly, as they do when feasting, and prolonging the time with wine. So the prophet Isaiah, in like manner, says, ch. v. 11, “Wo unto
 “them that rise up early in the morning,
 “that they may follow strong drink,¹ that
 “continue until night, ’till wine inflame
 “them.” Such appears to be the view of Solomon here.

If great men will indulge themselves in the pleasures of the *table* and of *wine*, it certainly should be in the evening, when public business is finished.

I have, in a former volume, taken notice of the Eastern people’s eating very early in the morning, but the circumstances I have now mentioned in this paper were not then noticed; nor what follows under the next Observation.

¹ Egmont and Heyman, vol. 2. p. 35. Hasselquist, p. 40.

² Sir John Chardin (tome 3. p. 86, &c.) gives an account of an Eastern feast, at which he was present, which lasted from 11 o’clock in the forenoon ’till 3 in the afternoon, after which was a magnificent dessert.

OBSERVATION XL.

The people of the East *rise early*, according to the preceding Observation, and they also *dine very early*: and, trifling as this Observation seems, it may, possibly, be of some use in explaining a passage of Scripture which has occasioned a good deal of difficulty.

“ As soon as they get up in the morning, they breakfast on fried eggs, cheese, honey, leban, &c. About *eleven* o'clock in the forenoon, in winter, and rather *earlier* in summer, they dine.—They sup early, that is, about *five* o'clock in the winter, and *six* in the summer, in much the same manner that they dine; and in winter, as they often visit one another, and sit up late, they have a collation of *kennasy*¹, or other sweet dishes.—In the summer their breakfast commonly consists of fruits; and, besides dinner and supper, they often, within the compass of the day, eat water-melons, cucumbers, and other fruits, according to the season.”

This is Dr. Russel's account², to which I would add, that Dr. Chandler, in his Tra-

¹ A mixture of flour and water, so prepared as to have the appearance of a number of threads. This is mixed with butter and honey, and baked in the oven. Russel's Descript. of Aleppo, p. 107. A kind of vermicelli, I should suppose.

² P. 105—107.

vels, explains what is meant by *rising early*, for he tells us ¹, that on account of the heat, it is usual there to rise *with the dawn*.

They *dine early*: at latest, it seems, at *eleven*, and earlier in proportion to the earliness of their rising, in summer; perhaps at ten, or a little after: their supper, we are expressly told, is an hour later in summer than in winter; it is natural to suppose the like difference of an hour too, as to the times of their dining in summer and winter.

And strange as these arrangements may seem to *our* modern late risers, so late as 200 years ago, eleven was the time of dining in England.

But to return to the East. If they now dine, when they rise early, between ten and eleven, the ancient Jews, if their customs were, in this respect, like those of the other inhabitants of these countries, dined at the like early hour. If they did, then the first time of eating of the paschal sacrifices, in the day-time, after eating the paschal lamb in the night, must have been as early as between ten and eleven in the forenoon, for they rose very early then, as early as in the height of summer.

Such, at least, is the account that is given us by Dr. Lightfoot², one of our greatest masters in Jewish learning, from their ancient books. "On the 15th day of the

¹ Travels in Asia, p. 18.

² Works, vol. 2. p. 618.
"month"

“month” (the day on which our Lord was crucified) “was an holy-day, the first day of the feast, wherein they made ready their *chagigab*, with which they feasted together for joy of the feast. That is worth our noting¹, every day they swept the ashes off the altar at the time of cock-crowing, only on the day of expiation they did it at midnight, and on the three feasts they did it after the first watch. A little after, in the three feasts, when infinite numbers of Israelites assembled, and numberless sacrifices were offered, they swept the ashes off the altar, just after the first watch; for by cock-crowing the court was crowded with Israelites.” He goes on to observe there, that he made no scruple of rendering two Hebrew words, which he sets down, by cock-crowing, “although in the very place alledged it is under controversy, whether it signifies the cock-crowing, or the proclamation of the *sagan*, or ruler of the Temple, viz. that proclamation mentioned, *The sagan saith unto them, Go and see whether the time for slaying the sacrifices be at hand; if it were time, then he that was sent out to see, returned with this answer, The day begins to break; &c.*” He farther remarks, that let the words be taken which way they will, it is clear that the people were assembled together before morning light, and the sacrifices pre-

¹ From a Jewish treatise called Joma.

paring for *slaughter*, by being carefully examined, &c.

Rising so *very early*, as, according to Light-foot's account, the Jewish people in general did, and more especially, we must suppose, the *zealots* did, they must have wanted their *dinner* by ten o'clock, eating, as the Eastern people do, their first collation *as soon as they rose*; but what they then lived upon were their *peace-offerings*, or the *chagigah*, as they termed it, for those sacrifices, which are called by St. John the Passover, ch. xviii. 28, being a necessary part of the solemnity termed the *Passover*, though not that particular sacrifice denominated the *Paschal Lamb*, those sacrifices, I say, being slain, "those parts of them that
 " pertained to the altar or to the priests were
 " given to them; the rest of the beast was
 " shared amongst the owners that had offered
 " it, and *from thence proceeded their feasting*
 " *together*, and their great *mirth and rejoicing*,
 " according to the manner of that festival
 " val'."

If such was the state of things, they must have wanted by nine in the morning to finish the affair of our Lord, that they might prepare for dining on the Passover peace-offerings, which had been killed that morning *very early* in the Temple. It is evident, from Lev. vii. 15, 16, that the flesh of some peace-offerings was to be consumed on the

* In the same page.

day in which they were sacrificed ; as to the rest, they were to be eaten that day, and might be eaten also the next, but no farther ; if any remained to the morning of the third day, it was to be consumed by fire.

The rising from sleep then, on the day in which our Lord was crucified, was early, for the purpose of preparing for the solemnities of rejoicing *in feasting* before the Lord that first day of this festival ; and also of preparing part of the peace-offerings to be eaten with joy on the *Sabbath*, which happened now to be the second day of the Passover solemnity, in which they were to dress none of their provisions. It was a day then in which they had much to do, and no wonder they were pressing that the business of our Lord might be dispatched.

In the case of St. Paul, *more than forty men had bound themselves by an oath, that they would neither eat nor drink 'till they had killed him*, Acts xxiii. 21 ; it doth not appear that the chief men of the Jews, at the time of our Lord's death, had bound themselves by a similar oath : but it is natural to believe, that the like vehemence of temper disposed them to endeavour to dispatch that affair, before they sat down to feast on the peace-offerings of the day¹.

It

¹ So Bishop Gardiner was so anxious to hear of the death of Ridley and Latimer, that he refused to dine 'till he

It is for this reason, I presume, that St. John tells us in his Gospel, ch. xix. 14, that it was about the *sixth* hour of the preparation of the Passover, when Pilate delivered Jesus up to the will of the Jews: *not, I apprehend, the sixth hour of that day, (the sixth hour after the rising of the sun that day,) but the sixth hour OF THE PREPARATION OF THE PASSOVER PEACE-OFFERINGS*, which began, according to Lightfoot, from the time of cock-crowing; and, without controversy, before the day dawned, and might therefore very well agree with St. Mark's account¹, of it's being about the *third hour of the day*, when he was led away to be crucified. This only supposes the preparation for the sacrificing these peace-offerings began about three o'clock of the morning, as we reckon the hours, but, if Lightfoot be right, might be earlier, since cock-crowing was the whole third watch of the night—from midnight 'till about three in the morning.

This appears to me the most *simple and natural* solution of a difficulty which has perplexed *many of the learned*, arising from a seeming contradiction between St. Mark and St. John, as to the time of the beginning of our Lord's crucifixion. St. Mark *had* said nothing of this day's being a day of prepara-

he heard of their being dead, though no mention is made in history, I think, of his having bound himself, by oath, not to do it.

¹ Ch. 15. 25.

tion

tion before the Sabbath, when he mentions the third hour, nor for several verses after, he must therefore have meant the *hour of the day*; but St. John mentions the *preparation of the Passover immediately* before he speaks of the *sixth hour*, which therefore expresses *as naturally* the sixth hour of the *preparation*, if not more so, as the hour from the *sun's rising*.

Some learned men have supposed St. John might reckon the hours after the Roman manner, and so the sixth hour would mean the sixth hour *from midnight*. The learned and very accurate Dr. Ward, of Gresham-college, was of this opinion. The very learned and ingenious Dr. Lardner would not allow of this, as no notice is given of such a way of reckoning by St. John, and as it was not practised by *other Jewish* writers, who wrote for the information of the Romans and Greeks, as well as John, particularly by neither of the other *three Evangelists*, nor by *Josephus*¹. What Lardner has said, and which I have just now been

¹ The solution of Dr. Ward, though a person of exquisite learning, is the more unsatisfactory, as the Romans appear, at least very frequently, if not most commonly, to have reckoned as the Jews did, from the sun-rising for the *hours of the day*, as they did from its setting for those of the night, (the Romans of that age,) as appears from Horace, Sat. lib. 1, sat. 3, l. 23—25, where the dauphin editor refers to the 3d satire of Persius in proof of the same way of reckoning. Suetonius affords us several proofs of it.

repeating, appears, it must be owned; very strong; but I beg leave just to observe, that when St. John says *it was about the sixth hour, when the woman of Samaria came to draw water at Jacob's well*¹, that that circumstance seems somewhat to favour Ward's hypothesis, though it is by no means decisive. For I have elsewhere shown, that the Eastern women are said, by those that have travelled in those countries, to fetch water *only* in the evening or the morning²; to which may be added, that the Scriptures themselves speak of the *evening* as the time women were wont to go out to draw water, Gen. xxiv. 11. "And he made his camels to kneel down without the city, by a well of water, at the time of the evening, *even the time that women go out to draw water.*" According to this, the time of our Lord's being at Jacob's well should be in the evening, and it being said to be then about the sixth hour, St. John must have reckoned, not according to the Jewish, but the Roman manner of reckoning, unless the woman of Samaria went at a time *unusual* both in ancient and modern times³. It might, possibly, however happen.

I mention this circumstance, because I do not recollect either of these gentlemen have

¹ Ch. 4. 6, 7. ² Observ. vol. I. p. 168, and 371.

³ I shall have occasion to take notice of this circumstance of the time of her coming to the well, under another article in this volume,

taken notice of it in arguing this matter, (and I have neither of them at hand to consult on this occasion,) but I will not pretend to decide the point. It is not *at all necessary*, I apprehend, to solve the seeming contrariety between St. Mark and St. John, as to the time of fastening our Lord to the cross.

The other passages of St. John's Gospel, in which mention is made of the hours, will in no wise be thought, I believe, to determine, whether he made use of the Roman or Jewish method of reckoning them.

I have since observed in the collections of Wolfius¹, that the explanation which I have given has been proposed heretofore to the world; my Reader, however, has it here as it presented itself to my mind, in thinking over the several circumstances, I have been reciting, and with such additional considerations and variations, as, perhaps, may not be displeasing.

OBSERVATION XLI.

There is such a *remarkable* difference between the account the sacred historians give us, of the provisions that were brought to David when he fled from Absalom, and by the Israelites that came to make him king at Hebron, as seems to me to deserve a little

¹ Tome I. p. 970.

more attention than is wont to be bestowed upon it : perhaps a more exact comparing them together may afford some growing light into the affairs of those times, especially if we join some modern acts of civility, which travellers have related, to these of more ancient date.

1 Chron. xii, close, mentions the things that were carried to David at Hebron ; the 2 Sam. xvii. 28, 29, those which he received on the other side Jordan. The lists follow.

1 Chron. xii.	2 Sam. xvii,
Figs	
Raisins	
Wine	
Oyl	
Oxen	
Sheep	Sheep [†]
Flour or Meal [†]	Flour or Meal
	Beds
	Bowls
	Earthen Vessels
	Wheat
	Barley
	Something that was parched

[†] I say flour or meal, for though our translators render it meal in Chronicles, and flour in Samuel, the original word is the same in both places, and should not have been different in our version.

1 Chron. xii.

2 Sam. xvii.

Beans
Lentiles
Butter
Honey
And something be-
longing to Kine.

The Reader may suppose that this catalogue from Chronicles is incomplete, as our translators have mentioned *bread* and *meat*. But the Septuagint seems to me more just, which understands the second word as signifying *food* in general, and certainly it doth not signify *flesh* in particular; and the first as meaning not a noun substantive (*bread*), but a pronoun and preposition (*to them*): the Hebrew words signifying these two very different things being so alike, as easily to be mistaken one for the other. “They brought *them* on asses, &c, *viſtuals*,—meal, cakes of figs, &c.”

However, let the list of particulars be drawn up one way or the other, they are so different, though the cases *in general* are so much alike, that one would imagine the variation must be occasioned, partly by the difference of the *seasons*—the one in the *spring*, the other in *autumn*; and partly by the different circumstances in which the attendants found themselves—in one case, extremely destitute and tired, in the other, at ease, and even in

a state of joy. The difference can hardly be attributed to differing *customs*, or difference of *productions*, in the two districts from which the provisions were brought: the neighbourhood of Hebron, and from thence all along to *Issachar*, *Zebulun* and *Naphtali*, in the one case, and the country beyond *Jordan* in the other.

To these two catalogues it may be agreeable to subjoin a third, taken from the *Sieur Roland Frejus's* relation of a voyage from the coast of Africa into an inland part of Mauritania¹, in which he has given us an account of the provisions presented to him by the Moors and Arabs in a journey of eight days; after which I would make some observations on the whole. The particulars, as to *Frejus*, were as followeth.

Partridges, - - -	p. 25.
Other Fowls, - -	p. 25, 37, 51.
Milk, - - - -	p. 26, 32, 47, 53.
Butter, - - - -	p. 26, 37, 47, 51, 53.
Bread, - - - -	p. 26, 47, 53.
Eggs, - - - -	p. 32, 47, 53.
Beans, - - - -	p. 32, 37.
New Bread, - -	p. 32, 37.
Cheese, - - - -	p. 37, 47.
Cream, - - - -	p. 37.

¹ His journey from the coast into the country was in the latter end of April, A. D, 1666.

- Boiled Salads¹, - p. 37.
Couple of fat Sheep, p. 47, 51.
Raisins, - - - - p. 47.

Beans, according to Dr. Shaw, are usually full podded the latter end of February, or beginning of March, and continue during the whole spring; which, after they are boiled and stewed with oil and garlick, are the principal food of persons of all distinctions². Frejus's voyage was, accordingly, in April, who was twice presented with beans. David's flight from Absalom appears, for the same reason, to have been in the spring. The lentiles sent to David are another proof.

After Frejus arrived at the capital city, the Moorish king sent him, we are told³, along with other things, two great vessels of butter, two of honey, and two of *sweet* oil; not one word of oil, when travelling among the *country-people*, but butter is daily mentioned. This observation tends to make us less surprised that butter only is spoken of as given to David in the land beyond Jordan, no oil: it being *spring-time*, butter was most plentiful; perhaps most pleasant.

Oil, and figs, as well as raisins, were brought

¹ What the word is in the *French* I know not, the term used in the English is *odd*; what he meant is not distinctly known, but perhaps something eaten as a salad by the French, but boiled in the East, was the thing intended.

² P. 140.

³ P. 70.

to Hebron, from the *country-people* of Galilee^a when Israel assembled to recognize David as king over the whole nation; is it not then probable that that assembly was held in *autumn*, when all these things had been newly gathered in, and were in the greatest plenty?

If the solemn receiving David as their king, by all Israel, was in *autumn*, then Saul must have been slain in the spring, since his death was seven years and an half before, according to 1 Chron. iii. 4, 2 Sam. ii. 11. ch. v. 5.

Is it not reasonable to suppose, that the ancient Jews, in general, dried their grapes, their figs, their dates, &c, in such quantities, as to last them through the winter only, 'till the spring-food came to hand, and were not, in common¹, solicitous to preserve them *all the year round*, in order to have a more *grateful variety* of food? Such seems to be, at present, the inattention of the country-people of Mauritania to the luxury of continual variety, since we meet with no account of figs or dates in the whole eight day's journey of Captain Frejus, and but once of raisins, all which, however, might be cured in

¹ Some doubtless were preserved, so Ziba presented King David at this time with an hundred bunches of *raisins*, 2 Sam. 16. 1; and David furnished himself with them and with figs, when, in the spring, he was engaged in continual expeditions of a warlike nature, 1 Sam. 30. 12.

those countries in sufficient numbers, and would keep very well from one autumn to another.

Wine, which is wanted, and was used at all times of the year, was sent, according to Josephus*, who must be very inaccurate and loose in his account of the reception of David at Mahanaim, or the copies of the history of Samuel more large than those we have at present; or, which is the most probable supposition, that many of the earthen vessels which are mentioned were understood by him to have been *filled* with wine, and not some empty pieces of pottery only. Wine, it is well known, is kept in the East, to this day, in *jars of earth*. Ziba, it is certain, thought wine highly proper to be presented in such a season, and though Barzillai and his associates had not like selfish ends to answer as Ziba had in view, when with great adulation he said, "The asses be for the king's household to ride on, and the bread and summer-fruit for the young men to eat, and the wine, that such as be faint in the Wilderness may drink," 2 Sam. xvi. 2; yet they could not be insensible that wine must be extremely wanted by people faint and weary, nor is it to be supposed they were without large quantities of it by them.

There is so much stress laid by the prophetic historian on the people's being *weary*

* Antiq. lib. 7, cap. 9, § 8.

and

and *thirsty* in the Wilderness, 2 Sam. xvii. 29; and it's being expressly represented by him as if Barzillai and his associates were particularly attentive to these circumstances, "For they said, the people is hungry, and *weary*, and *thirsty* in the Wilderness," that it should seem refreshments for the *thirsty* were meant by one or more articles in this catalogue¹, or that it is imperfect: and that if the word *beds* is to be understood of things few in number, and those of the most honourable kind, as Josephus and the Septuagint understood the term, it should seem some other accommodations for rest were provided, of a meaner sort, whether distinctly mentioned, or not.

The nature of some of the things carried to David, when beyond Jordan, seems to intimate, that that prince, and the people with him, were then in some sort *encamped* in the Wilderness, David not being at that time sufficiently assured of the fidelity of that part of his country, to venture into their cities, at least it was expected it would be so. They would not otherwise have carried him beds, we have reason to think, but the people of Mahanaim would have accommodated him in their own houses. But this appears not to have lasted long. He and his people were before the battle *in* Mahanaim².

¹ See Observ. vol. i, ch. 5, obs. 9.

² 2 Sam. 18. 3, 4.

The reason why such things were not carried to Hebron, when David was recognized king over all the tribes, seems to have been, that the ancient Israelites, like the present Bedouin Arabs¹, made no difficulty, on occasion, of sleeping on the ground, wrapped up in their outward garments², and their faces covered from the night-air, and Israel were then in a state of ease and joy; but the people along with David were apprehended to be greatly fatigued, and worn out with an hurrying journey³.

One observation here we can hardly avoid making, and that is the striking difference between both the Jewish catalogues, and the account given of the provisions presented to Frejus, as to fowls and eggs. We find no fowls or eggs in the first; in the other very frequently. Are we to suppose there were few or no tame fowls kept among the Jews in those early times? few or no eggs eaten but what they might *accidentally* find in the nests of birds or wild-fowl? Whatever might be the cause of it, it is certain there is a great silence as to these matters in the Old Testa-

¹ Voy. dans la Palestine, par de la Roque, p. 176.

² Exod. 22. 27. Deut. 24. 13.

³ So, according to Biddulph, some of their *Eastern* friends at Damascus, Jews and Greeks, furnished the English merchants, with whom he travelled to Jerusalem, with *beds* as well as provisions, as supposing their wearied bodies stood in need of such refreshments. Oxford Collect. of Voy. and Trav. vol. 1, p. 809.

ment; whereas eggs and fowls are extremely common now in all parts of the Levant'. But I must observe, that neither are *kids* mentioned in either the ancient or modern catalogues, though very common in both ages.

To finish this article I would observe, that the mention of honey in 2 Sam. xvii, in no wise weakens the supposition that this flight of David was in the spring, though our beehives are seldom taken up 'till the end of summer, since Dr. Russell describes the country about Aleppo as covered with flowers in the spring, but, in a manner, wholly unadorned with them in the summer, the ground being then almost entirely bare and parched up. When flowers and the blossoms of the trees ceased, it must have been no improper time to take the honey away. No wonder then that it appears in the catalogue of *spring-provisions*, and is unmentioned in 1 Chron. xii.

OBSERVATION XLII.

Though *flesh-meat* is not wont to be eaten by these nations so frequently, as with us in the West, or in such quantities, yet people of rank, who often have it in their repasts,

¹ They were the chief eatables that Dr. Richard Chandler and his companions were able to procure, in their travels in Asia Minor, as appears in many places.

are fond of it, and even those in lower life, when it can be procured¹.

Our translation then doth not express the *spirit* of the Mosaic precept, relating to the super-inducing a second wife in the life-time of the first, Exod. xxi. 10, "Her *food*, her " raiment, and her duty of marriage shall he " not diminish;" in the original it is, "Her " *flesh*, her raiment, &c," meaning that he should not only afford her a sufficient *quantity* of food as before, but of the same *quality*. The feeding her with bread, with herbs, with milk, &c, in quantities not only sufficient to maintain life, but as much as numbers of poor people *contented* themselves with, would not do, if he took away the *flesh*, and others of the more agreeable articles of food he had before been wont to allow her.

Accordingly the Septuagint translates that word by the Greek term τα δεοντα, which means food suitable to the man's rank and circumstances.

OBSERVATION XLIII.

Our version of Gen. xxvii. 4, 7, 9, 14, 17, 31, may be presumed to have given us

¹ This appears by the longing of Israel for it in the Wilderness, Numb. 11. 4, and the regret they expressed at the remembrance of the flesh-pots of Ægypt, Exod. 16. 3. So de Tott tells us, part 2, p. 51, that the Crim Tartars do not habitually use *meat*, though they are very fond of it, from sparingness, or, as he styles it, avarice.

the true sense there of the word translated *savoury*, though it is undoubtedly of a more large and less determinate signification.

That it is of a more large signification, is evident from hence, that a kindred word expresses the tasting of *honey*, 1 Sam. xiv. 43; and the taste of *manna*, which tasted like *fresh oil*, Numb. xi. 8, and like wafers made with *honey*, Exod. xvi. 31. These two last passages are easily reconciled, though honey and fresh oil are by no means like each other in taste, when we consider the cakes of the ancients were frequently a composition of honey, and oil, and flour, consequently in tasting like one of these wafers or thin cakes, it might be said to resemble the taste of both, of oil mingled with honey.

The word then translated *savoury*, (in a confined sense,) signifies generally whatever is *gustful*, or pleasing to the taste, whether by being *salt and spicy*, which the English word *savoury* means, or pleasant by its *sweetness*; or by being *acidulated*.

However it is very probable, that in this account of what Isaac desired, it means *savoury* properly speaking, since though one might imagine, that in so hot a climate, and among a people wont to observe so much abstemiousness in their diet, food *highly-seasoned* should not be in request; yet the contrary is known to be fact.

Almost all the dishes of the people of Aleppo, Dr. Russell informs us, "are either
"greasy

“ greasy with fat, or butter, pretty high-seasoned with *salt and spices* ; many of them made four with verjuice, pomegranate, or lemon-juice ; and onions and garlick often complete the seasoning¹.”

As it was something of the venison kind Isaac desired, it is very probable, the dish he wished for was of the *savoury* sort.

Some of their dishes of meat however are of a *sweet* nature. “ A whole lamb, stuffed with rice, almonds, *raisins*, pistaches, &c, and stewed, is a favourite dish with them².”

It was very just then, in our translators, to render this word by a more extensive term in Prov. xxiii. 3 : “ When thou sittest to eat with a *ruler*, consider diligently what is before thee, v. 1.—Be not desirous of his *dainties*, for they are deceitful meat,” v. 3. It is translated in much the same manner in v. 6, (dainty meats.)

I would observe farther, as to this subject, that there is a great propriety in Solomon’s describing these *dainty meats* as very much appropriated to the tables of *rulers*, or a few others of the great, since the food of the common people of Aleppo, a large and rich commercial city, is very simple and plain : for Russell tells us “ bread, dibbs,” (the juice of grapes thickened to the consistence

¹ P. 107. Dr. Shaw gives us a similar account, p. 231.

² Russell, p. 106.

of honey,) "leban," (coagulated four milk,) "butter, rice, and a very little mutton, make the chief of their food in winter; as rice, bread, cheese, and fruits do in the summer¹.

De la Roque gives much the same account of the manner of living of the Arabs, whose way of life very much resembles that of the patriarchs: *roast-meat being almost peculiar to the tables of their emirs or princes, and lambs or kids stewed whole, and stuffed with bread, flour, mutton-fat, raisins, salt, pepper, saffron, mint, and other aromatic herbs*².

I would only add farther, with respect to the meat Isaac desired, that perhaps his desiring Esau to take his bow and arrows, and to kill him some venison—an antelope, or some such wild animal, when a kid from his own flock would, as appears from the event, have done as well, might as much arise from the *sparingness* natural to those that live this kind of life, together with the pleasure he proposed to himself from this testimony of filial affection from a beloved son, as from the *recollection of some peculiar poignant flavour* he had formerly perceived in eating the flesh of wild animals, though now his organs of taste were so much impaired as not to perceive the difference. So Dr. Shaw observes, that "the Arabs rarely diminish their flocks, by

¹ P. 108.

² Voy. dans la Pal. ch. 14, p. 197, 198.

— using

“ using them for food, but live chiefly upon
 “ bread, milk, ... butter, dates, or what
 “ they receive in exchange for their wool¹.”

OBSERVATION XLIV.

That view of an Eastern seething-pot, where the opening into the small hollow underneath, into which the fuel is put², is right before the eye of the spectator, must, I think, be that which is called it's *face*, Jer. i. 13; and our translation appears to me to be right, which supposes the face of this pot, which Jeremiah saw in the visions of God, was turned to the northward, intimating that the fuel to be put under it was to be brought from the North.

For, as the people that were to destroy the Jews, of that age, were uncontrovertibly to be brought from that quarter, ver. 15; and as that destruction is elsewhere represented by the consuming of meat boiled in a pot, Ezek. xxiv. 3—14; the representing that circumstance of the destruction of Jerusalem, I mean its being effected by a people that came from the North, if that destruction was represented by a *seething-pot* at all,

¹ P. 169.

² For their pots for boiling are not placed over an *open* fire as with us, but over an hole, with an aperture into it on one side, so as pretty much to resemble our coppers. This, according to Rauwolff, is done to save fuel.

was most naturally expressed by exhibiting the opening into the furnace as turned northward, fuel being of course placed on that side where the opening was.

This representation is *very simple*: and, after paying a little attention to it, some comments of the learned of former times will appear not a little odd. It is not however necessary to recite them.

OBSERVATION XLV.

That passage of *Exekiel*¹, cited in one of the last articles, makes but a strange appearance in our translation: we know not what to make of the *burning the bones* under the caldron, neither in the literal or the figurative sense. But it may perhaps receive a pretty clear illustration, especially the Septuagint translation of it, from the account given us of a royal Arab camel feast, in the third volume of the Philosophical Transactions abridged².

When I say *royal*, I mean a feast prepared for the *entertainment of the king of the Arabs of the Desert*, but at the *expence* of one of his grandees, of which two young camels formed the principal part. “Before mid-day,” says the account, “a carpet being spread in the middle of the tent, our dinner

¹ Ch. 24. 3—12.

² Part 2, ch. 2, art. 40, § 2.

“ was

“ was brought in, being served up in large
 “ wooden bowls between two men ; and
 “ truly, to my apprehension, load enough
 “ for them. Of these great platters there
 “ were about 50 or 60 in number, perhaps
 “ more, with a great many little ones, I
 “ mean, such as one man was able to bring
 “ in, strewed here and there among them,
 “ and placed for a border or garnish round
 “ about the table. In the middle of all was
 “ one of a larger size than all the rest, in
 “ which were the *camel's bones*, and a thin
 “ *broth* in which they were boiled : the other
 “ greater ones seemed all filled with one and
 “ the same sort of provision, a kind of *plum-*
 “ *broth* made of rice, and the *fleshy part of*
 “ *the camel*, with *currants* and *spices*, being
 “ of a somewhat darker colour than what
 “ is made in our country. The lesser were,
 “ for the most part, charged with *rice*,
 “ dressed after several modes, some of them
 “ having *leben* (a thick sour milk) poured
 “ upon them.”

The prophet has himself, in another part of this sacred book, given, in general, an explanation of this parable: the *caldron or pot* means Jerusalem, as to it's buildings ; the *flesh* cooked in the pot the inhabitants of that city, that were to be slain and consumed in it. Ch. xi. 3, 7.

If now we turn to the translation of this 24th chapter, in the Septuagint, we shall find this destruction expressed in terms that

may remind us of that *Arab* feast I have been mentioning. According to that version,—the parable speaks of a *pot or caldron set upon it's furnace* ; *water poured into it* ; *the halves of animals that were fine put in, each consisting of the leg and shoulder* ; *not however whole, but the flesh removed from the bones* ; *that fire was to be put under when the bones were placed beneath the flesh* ; *the bones to be boiled and stewed in the midst of the pot* : then, after some account of the meaning of this parable, and the cause of God's anger, the allusion is taken up again, when God threatens *to heap on wood, and to kindle the fire, so as to consume the flesh, and diminish the quantity of the broth* ; *after which the emptied caldron was to be laid on the coals, and it's impurities to be removed by the violence of fire.*

This is the substance of their account of this parable, and we may see in it the *taking off* the flesh, as that of the camels from their bones in the *Arab* feast ; the *boiling it down* to a pulpy substance, and a *great diminution* of the liquid ; and the supposition that the *bones themselves* afforded something delicious. Thus far these ancient *Ægyptian* interpreters go in their account, quite agreeing with the modern history of an *Arab* royal feast, and, without doubt, with the managements of their own times. Only it may be the *Arabs* stewed their bones *by themselves* ; anciently, it seems, they did it *in the same pot* with the flesh.

If now we turn to the original *Hebrew*.
It

It is visible that the second clause of the fifth verse must be wrong translated: it could never signify *burning* the bones *under* the pot, if for no other reason, yet for this, that in the close of the 4th verse, and in the end of the 5th, it is supposed they were to *seethe them in it*. The *heaping* them up, which is the marginal translation, appears to be the true meaning. And, as to what follows, it should seem we are to understand the word as signifying the *lower part* of the pot'—heap up the bones in the lower part of the pot, and make it boil well.

The 10th verse mentions the consuming, or *dissolving* the flesh, the *spicing* or *seasoning* it, and the burning the bones, or rather leaving them *dry*. This brings to mind the *spices* and the *currants* of the great camel feast, and the emptying of the caldron of it's contents so entirely as to leave nothing but bones in it.

The whole parable expresses the *great slaughter* of the Jews in the destruction of Jerusalem; not only those of lower rank, but those of the greatest; for I do not take it, that the choice of the flock is to be understood exclusively of others, but as comprehending many, very many of them; that the people of Babylon would take as great pleasure in destroying the Jewish people, as men would do in partaking of a delicious royal repast; and that after the city was emptied, it would

¹ Vid. Job 28, 5.

be given up to purging flames, as a filthy pot, made disagreeable by scum and other impurities, might be cleansed by being heated in the fire to an high degree¹.

How the Ægyptian translators of the Septuagint version came to leave out the *spicing*, or *seasoning* of this soup, for the word, I presume, is not limited to *spices* properly speaking, but comprehends every thing that *seasons*, or heightens the taste; and how they came to divide what of the flock was stewed just into halves, which the word they have made use of properly signifies, whereas the present *Arabs*², when they would make potage even of a chicken, divide it into four parts, and a *fowl* into six or eight, I do not know, since the Hebrew copies only suppose the animals put into the caldron to be cut in pieces in general; but must leave it to my Reader to guess.

On the other hand, we are told by the same writer, that in their grand repasts, they stew, not unfrequently, a *whole* lamb or kid³. The parable however of *Exekiel* supposes them divided into parts, whether halved or into single joints the original doth not determine, though the version of the Septuagint doth, after which both suppose the flesh was taken from the bones.

¹ See Numb. 31. 22, 23.
de la Roque, ch. 14, p. 199.

² Voy. dans la Pal. par
³ P. 198.

OBSERVATION XLVI.

The longest time allowed, in Lev. vii¹, for the eating the flesh of any of the Mo-
saic sacrifices, was the day after that in which
they were killed, the eating it on the third
day is declared to be an abomination; this
precept may be thought to have been unne-
cessary in so warm a climate, where we may
suppose by the third day it might be ready to
putrify, and there could be no great occasion
to forbid the Jews to eat *decayed* meat. But
we are to remember the drying meat is often
practised in those hot countries; is sometimes
practised as to flesh killed with a religious in-
tention: and, on account of this manage-
ment, the keeping the flesh of their sacrifices
to the third day might be forbidden.

Every Mohammedan, that goes in pilgrim-
age to Mecca, is obliged, on a certain day,
and at a certain place near there, to sacrifice
a sheep². He may, if he pleases, sacrifice
more³, but he is under an obligation to kill
one. Some of the flesh of these sheep they
give to their friends; some to the ragged
poor who come out of Mecca, and the ad-
jacent country; and the rest they eat them-
selves. But they are not limited to any time

¹ Ver. 15—8.

² Pitts, p. 140.

³ D'Her-
belot, p. 62, art. Adhha.

for eating this sacred flesh, that I have any where observed; and it appears by the collections of d'Herbelot, that they often dry a good deal of this kind of flesh. *Dhoulhegiab*, the last month of the Arabic year, is, according to d'Herbelot, almost entirely consecrated to the performing certain *solemnities and ceremonies*, which are practised at *Mecca*, and the neighbouring mountain of *Arafab*. The tenth day, in particular, is called the Festival of the Victim or Sacrifice, there being few Mohammedans but what sacrifice one or more sheep that day¹. The 11th, 12th, and 13th days are called *Taschrie*, in which they dry the flesh of these victims².

I have elsewhere³ given an account of the Eastern way of drying their meat, and that it is said that so dried it will keep two years. Consequently this sacred flesh may be frequently eaten in the deserts in their return, and even presented to their friends residing in their several countries, as a religious curiosity, as Pitts tells us is done with the water of the Sacred Well in the temple of *Mecca*, which, though distributed in very small portions, on their return, is received with great care, and abundance of thanks.

The *Mecca pilgrimage*, and many of its ceremonies, are very well known to be of great antiquity, (far more ancient than the time of

¹ Pitts, in the page just cited.
² *Dhoulhegiab*.

³ P. 951, art. *Observ.* vol. 1, ch. 4, obs. 21.

Mohammed,) and to be the remains of Arab heathenism. Something of the same kind might obtain as early as the time of Moses, and be the occasion of the prohibition. It would not have suited the genius of the Mosaic dispensation, to have allowed them to have dried the flesh of their peace-offerings, whether for thanksgiving, in consequence of a vow, or merely voluntary, and have afterwards eaten the flesh very commonly in a sparing manner, or communicated only some small portion of it to their particular friends: their peace-offerings were to be eaten, on the contrary, with festivity, communicated to their friends with liberality, and bestowed on the poor with great generosity, that they might partake with them on these sacred repasts with joy before the Lord'. To answer these views, it became requisite to eat this flesh while it was fresh; and these considerations are sufficient to account for the precept, without recurring to those moral and evangelical reasons that are assigned by the learned and devout Mr. Ainsworth for the command. How benevolent and chearful the design of this institution!

OBSERVATION XLVII.

When Boaz is represented as having provided vinegar for his reapers, into which they

¹ Deut. 16. 11.

might

might dip their bread¹, and kindly invited Ruth to share with them in the repast, we are not to understand it of *simple vinegar*, but *vinegar mingled with a small portion of oil*, if modern managements in the Levant be allowed to be the most natural comment on those of antiquity.

For even the *Algerines* indulge their miserable captives with a small portion of oil to the vinegar they allow them with their bread, according to the account Pitts gives of the treatment he and his companions received from them, of which he complains with some asperity.

I remember to have cited this passage in a preceding volume², but without considering it there, as giving a full view of what the sacred historian is to be understood, I apprehend, to have expressed *in short*, and therefore shall only here say, that Pitts's allowance was *nothing but a little vinegar, (about five or six spoonfuls,) half a spoonful of oil, with a small quantity of black biscuit, and a pint of water a day, together with a few olives*³.

What the quality of the bread was, that the reapers of Boaz had, may be uncertain, but there is all imaginable reason to suppose the vinegar, into which they dipped it, was made more grateful by the addition of oil.

¹ Ruth 2. 14.

² P. 6.

³ Vol. I. ch. 4. obs. 52.

OBSERVATION XLVIII.

When our Lord said, "Whosoever shall give you a cup of water to drink, in my name, because ye belong to Christ, verily I say unto you, he shall not lose his reward," the general thought is plain to every Reader—that no service performed to a disciple of Christ, out of love to their Master, though comparatively small, should pass away unrewarded; but we, in these more temperate climates, are sometimes ready to think, that the instance our Lord mentions is of so very trifling a nature, that it appears *almost ludicrous*. But it certainly would not appear so *now* to an inhabitant of the East, nor did therefore, we have reason to believe, appear in that light to them to whom he immediately made that declaration—A cup of cold water is to them a refreshment *not unworthy of notice*, though there are now, and were then, refreshments that might be given of a very *superior kind*.

The furnishing travellers with water, is at this time thought a matter of such consideration, that many of the Eastern people have been at *considerable expence* to procure passengers that refreshment.

"The reader, as we proceed," says Dr.

* Mark. 9. 41.

Chandler¹, “ will find frequent mention of
 “ *fountains*. Their number is owing to the
 “ nature of the country and the climate.
 “ The soil, parched and thirsty, demands
 “ moisture to aid vegetation; and a cloud-
 “ less sun, which inflames the air, requires
 “ for the people the verdure, shade, and cool-
 “ ness, it's agreeable attendants. Hence they
 “ occur not only in the towns and villages,
 “ but in the fields and gardens, and *by the*
 “ *sides of the roads* and of the *beaten tracks*
 “ *on the mountains*. Many of them are the
 “ useful donations of humane persons, while
 “ living; or have been *bequeathed as legacies*
 “ on their decease. The Turks esteem the
 “ erecting them as meritorious, and seldom
 “ go away, after performing their ablutions
 “ or *drinking*, without *gratefully blessing the*
 “ *name and memory of the founder*.”

Then, after observing, that the method used
 by the antients of obtaining the necessary
 supplies of water still prevails, which he de-
 scribes as done by pipes, or paved channels,
 he goes on, “ When arrived at the destined
 “ spot, it is received by a cistern with a
 “ vent; and the waste current passes below
 “ from another cistern, often an ancient sar-
 “ cophagus. It is common to find a cup of
 “ tin or iron hanging near, by a chain; or a
 “ wooden scoop with an handle, placed in a
 “ niche in the wall. The front is of stone

¹ Travels in Asia Minor, p. 20.

“ or marble ; and in some, painted and decorated with gilding, and with an inscription in Turkish characters in relievo.”

The blessing the name and memory of the builder of one of these fountains shows, that a cup of water is, in those countries, by no means a *despicable* thing ; there are, however, refreshments that might be given of a much superior quality. Such is *milk* : so when Sifera asked Jael for a *little water to drink, because he was thirsty*, she opened a *bottle of milk*, and gave him drink, Judges iv. 19. So the mother of an Eastern prince, among other instructions, bade him “ Give *strong drink* to them that were ready to perish, and “ *wine* to those that were of heavy hearts,” Prov. xxxi. 6.

The giving a thirsty traveller also a *water-melon*, such as grow in great quantities on *Mount Carmel*, would be a much nobler refreshment than a cup of water. The inhabitants, Egmont and Heyman inform us¹, speaking of *Mount Carmel*, “ chiefly employ themselves in improving their gardens, “ where they have, among other fruits, excellent melons, and *pasteques*, which, in “ goodness and taste, are not at all inferior “ to those of *Naples* and the *West-Indies*. “ The latter are called, in America, water-melons, and very properly, consisting of “ little else than a rind and delicious water.

¹ Vol. 2, p. 12, 13.

“ The pulp of some is reddish, especially
 “ that part nearest the center of the fruit,
 “ where they have also small seeds, the sur-
 “ face of which is blackish or reddish, and
 “ beneath it a white, soft, and palatable sub-
 “ stance, and from whence a kind of oil is
 “ expressed, of great use in colds, inflam-
 “ mations, and cutaneous disorders. The
 “ *melons* which have a white pulp, are also of
 “ a very agreeable taste; but not so much
 “ esteemed as the other, probably more from
 “ prepossession than any solid reason. Both,
 “ however, *may supply the place of drink*, as
 “ they dissolve in the mouth, quench the
 “ thirst, and are of a cooling quality.”

A cup of water then is not so despicable a
 refreshment in the East, as that the mention
 of it should be *ridiculous*; there are, however,
 many refreshments *far superior*. It was a fa-
 vour done them *comparatively small*, but how-
 ever not wholly *unworthy notice*. The do-
 nations of the devout Mohammedans is an
 energetic proof of it.

If from the Lesser Asia we pass into Ægypt,
 and the southern part of Arabia, under the
 conduct of *Nieubr*, we shall find the pro-
 viding water for the thirsty is considered as a
 work of considerable benevolence. “ There
 “ were upon this mountain,” he says, “ three
 “ *madsjils*, or little reservoirs, which are al-
 “ ways kept full of fine fresh water for the
 “ use of passengers. These reservoirs, which
 “ are about two feet and an half square, and
 “ from

“ from five to seven feet high, are round or
 “ pointed at the top, of mason’s work, hav-
 “ ing only a small opening in one of the
 “ sides, by which they pour water into them.
 “ Sometimes we find near these places of
 “ Arab refreshment a piece of a gourd-shell, or
 “ a little scoop of wood. However, instead
 “ of trusting to such conveniences, travellers
 “ would do better to carry a cup with them,
 “ and even to have with them, in a long
 “ journey, a *bardák*, or vessel for water¹.”
 He often speaks of these erections in Ara-
 bia.

As to *Ægypt*, he says, “ Among the public
 “ buildings of *Kabira*, those houses ought to
 “ be reckoned, where they daily give water
 “ *gratis* to all passengers that desire it. Some
 “ of these houses make a very handsome ap-
 “ pearance; and those whose business it is to
 “ wait on passengers are to have some ves-
 “ sels of copper, curiously tinned, and filled
 “ with water, always ready on the window
 “ next the street².”

This is a farther confirmation of the justness
 of considering the giving a cup of cold water
 as a benevolent action of *some moment*, though
 it is *supposed* by our Lord to be of the *meaner*
kind.

¹ Voy. tome I, p. 274.

² P. 97.

OBSERVATION XLIX.

Job speaks of some poor people, so severely oppressed with poverty, that they wanted bread, and fed on the wild herbs of the wilderness, particularly, according to our translation, on mallows. *Biddulph* saw poverty producing the like effect in his travels.

It will be sufficient to set down the two passages, the latter illustrating the former, at least as to one point.

“ Who cut up *mallows* by the bushes, and juniper-roots for their meat.” Job xxx. 4.

So *Biddulph* says he “ saw many poor people gathering mallows, and three-leaved grafs, and asked them what they did with it; and they answered, that it was all their food; and that they boiled it, and did eat it. Then we took pity on them, and gave them bread, which they received *very joyfully*, and blessed God that there was bread “ in the world¹.” This was in *Syria*, not far from *Aleppo*.

Whether mallows was one of the herbs Job precisely meant may be doubted; it appears however to be a species of herb actually used as food by the very poor people of the

¹ Collection of Voy. and Trav. from the library of the Earl of Oxford, p. 1807.

East. And at the same time the joy they expressed, upon having a little *bread* given, shows that it was not any gustfulness in those herbs which they eat, which caused them to gather them, or the force of long-established habit; but the extremity of want.

As Biddulph went to Jerusalem, some time before the translation of the Bible was undertaken by the command of King James Ist, the observation he made, of the poor people's eating mallows in Syria, might engage those learned men so to render the word used in that passage of the book of Job.

I have elsewhere¹ taken notice of the different opinions of the learned, concerning the tree or shrub which our translators supposed was the *juniper*; and I expressed my regret that the knowledge of the natural history of the East is so imperfect: and as I have since remarked an article in d'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale*, which probably refers to this tree, I would here set it down, though unhappily the particular species of the tree is not thereby expressly determined.

“ Gadha and gadhat, a sort of tree, nearly
 “ resembling the tamarisk, which grows in
 “ the sandy deserts. Camels are very fond
 “ of it's leaves, which nevertheless are apt
 “ to give them the gripes. The wood of
 “ these trees is extremely proper to burn into
 “ charcoal, which has the property of long

¹ Observ. vol. 2, ch. 10, obs. 21.

“ preserving fire ; on which account it is
 “ carried into their cities, where there is a
 “ great sale for them.

“ Wolves very commonly lurk among these
 “ trees, which has given rise to a common
 “ saying among the Arabs, when they would
 “ prevent their camels eating the leaves of
 “ these trees, the wolf is near the gadha¹.”

This doth not determine, whether this tree is a species of the *juniper*, or not, but it should seem to be meant in the Scriptures by that word which our version renders *juniper*. It grows in the *deserts* ; it's coals *long retain fire* ; and it grows to a size capable of *shading* a person from the heat, since it is called a tree.

The other properties that are mentioned : it's affording food to camels, of which they are very fond ; but which is apt to gripe them ; and the frequent concealment of wolves among trees of this species ; may make it still more easy, for those that travel with camels through the Eastern deserts, to determine whether the tree that answers this description of d'Herbelot, and that of the Scriptures, is the *juniper*, or not. And I would hope, it may not be long before some curious traveller may ascertain this matter.

I take no notice, here, of another supposed property of this tree, according to our version of Job xxx. 4, in which several other

¹ P. 356.

translations concur, and that is, that it's *roots* are capable of being made use of *for food*. For I much question whether the *roots* of the *juniper*, or of any other tree in those deserts, can afford nourishment to the human body, on the one hand; and on the other, I would observe, that the interlineary translation of *Arias Montanus* supposes, that the meaning of the passage is, that they used the roots of the tree in question for *fuel*. And certainly the same Hebrew letters may as well signify the one as the other—that they used those roots for *warming themselves*, as *for bread*.

The reason, I presume, that has inclined so many to understand the word as our translators have done, has been, in part, a not knowing how far the roots of this tree of the deserts might be used for food, by these miserable outcasts from society; and, on the other hand, that they could not want fire in those sultry deserts, for the purpose of *warming themselves*. But as Irwin complains not unfrequently of the cold of the night, and sometimes of the day, in the deserts on the West side of the Red-Sea; so, in an appendix to the History of the Revolt of Aly Bey, very lately published, we find the Arabs that attended the author of that journal, through the deserts that lay between *Aleppo and Bagdat*, were considerably incommoded with the cold.

But if it were so with the poor wretches
Job

Job mentions, why, it may be asked, are the roots of the juniper mentioned? Do we not find in the Travels of *Rauwolff*, published by Mr. *Ray*, that in the wilderness, on the eastern side of the Tigris, they went out of doors and gathered dry boughs, and stalks of herbs, to dress some food with, without mention of *roots* of any kind of trees? and doth not *Thevenot* mention the gathering *broom* for boiling their coffee, and warming themselves, in the wilderness going from Cairo to Mount Sinai? Why then any mention of *juniper* as used for fuel? I would answer, that much slighter fuel would do for travellers that were well clothed, and wanted only to stay a little while to take some refreshment, than would do for poor starving and almost-naked creatures, whose continued abode was in the deserts. At the same time, it should seem, in the most destitute state, without *proper tools* to cut down trees there, so that the most substantial, lasting and comfortable fuel they could procure, might well be the roots, and refuse part of those gadha trees (whatever that word in d'Herbelot means) which were cut down to be made into charcoal, for the use of those towns that laid on the borders of that desert into which the outcasts mentioned by *Job* retired. To depend on the chips, and cast-away wood that others cut, to warm themselves in their *naked* state, must be great wretchedness.

OBSERVATION L.

I have, in a preceding volume, taken notice of the Eastern way of *churning*, which is done by putting the cream into a goat's skin turned inside out, which the Arabs suspend in their tents, and then pressing it to and fro, in one uniform direction, quickly occasion a separation of the unctuous from the wheyey part ¹. But there is another way, it seems, of churning in the Levant, which is by a man's treading upon the skin, which answers the same purpose: this Dr. Chandler took notice of in his way from Athens to Corinth ².

Grapes, it is well known, are wont to be trodden with the feet, when they want to make wine. Dr. Chandler saw it practised near Smyrna, just as he left Asia. *Black grapes were spread on the ground in beds, and exposed to the sun, to dry for raisins; while, in another part, the juice was expressed for wine, a man, with feet and legs bare, treading the fruit in a kind of cistern, with an hole or vent near the bottom, and a vessel beneath it to receive the liquor* ³.

The Scriptures which mention the *treading grapes* ⁴ for wine, inform us that *olives* also

¹ Shaw, p. 168. D'Arvieux gives a similar account.

² Travels in Greece, p. 217.

³ P. 2.

⁴ Neh.

13. 15. II. 63. 2. Judges 9. 27, &c.

were

were trodden, to get the oil contained in them¹. Whether any previous preparation was made use of in those ancient times, we are not told; but it seems certain *mills* are now used for pressing and grinding the olives, (according to Dr. Chandler,) which grow in the neighbourhood of *Athens*. These mills are in the town, and not on the spot in which the olives grow; and seem to be used, in consequence of it's being found; that the mere weight of the human body is insufficient for an effectual extraction of the oil.

The treading of grapes then, and olives, are well known facts, but Dr. Chandler is the first, so far as I have observed, that has given us an account of the way of *treading on skins of cream*, by men, in order to separate the butter from it's more watery part: and deserves attention, not only on account of the novelty of the observation; but as it may, possibly, throw some light over a passage of Job, which I never saw well accounted for: "When I *washed my steps with butter*, and the "rock poured me out rivers of oil²."

Commentators have observed, what every sensible reader must have perceived without their help, that great plenty of butter and oil, in his possession, is what is meant in this passage; but none, that I know of, have given any tolerable account of the *ground* of his representing this exuberance of butter, produced by his kine, after this manner.

¹ Mic. 6. 15. Deut. 33. 24.

² Ch. 29. 6.

The way in which a great man was to pass was sometimes *swept*, sometimes *strewed with flowers*, sometimes *watered*, and might, possibly, sometimes be moistened with waters of an *odoriferous kind*; but was it ever moistened with melted butter? The feet were sometimes anointed with oil, in which odoriferous substances had been infused¹, but was butter ever applied to them?

May we not rather suppose there is a reference, in these words of Job, to the treading skins of cream under their feet, when they had very large quantities which they wanted to churn?

When a small quantity of grapes are to be squeezed, it may be done commodiously enough *by the hand*: after this manner Pharaoh's butler supposed he squeezed out new wine into the royal cup, Gen. xl. 11. This indeed was only a visionary scene, but it is to be supposed to be a natural one. So when there was a quantity of cream, such as a poor Arab may be supposed to be possessed of, it was put into a skin, suspended in his tent, and the whole process conducted by the females belonging to it; but when the number of a man's milch-cattle was large, it became requisite to put the cream into a number of skins, on which he might tread, and by that means produce a *large quantity* of butter. This seems to me no improbable account,

¹ Luke 7. 37, 38, 46.

and

and by no means an unnatural explanation of the phrase, *I washed my steps with butter.*

Greece is indeed considerably distant from the land of Uz ; and the age in which Job lived far removed from our times : but as a skin, which Dr. Chandler saw used in Greece, is still the churning-vessel used by the Arabs of the Holy-Land, as well as of Barbary, and consequently, as the customs of the Arabs so little vary, the use of a skin for churning, though used in our times too, is to be understood to be very ancient ; and the same reasons that might induce the more opulent Greeks to tread their cream, rather than to confine themselves to the motion the Arabs generally use, might make the richer inhabitants of the more Eastern countries do the like, and consequently Job, who abounded in cattle.

The expression, it must be allowed, is highly figurative, but not more so than what may be supposed to suit Oriental poetry.

The word *washing*, when used *poetically*, certainly is not confined to the cleansing the feet by some *purifying* fluid, for the dipping the feet in human blood shed in war, which, according to the Mosaic law, was a most defiling thing, is in a Jewish poetic writer styled, notwithstanding, a washing the feet, Ps. lviii. 10. The plunging the feet then into cream, or butter, may, without question, be equally called washing the feet in butter, and walking in it washing the *steps*.

But it may be said, there is a wide difference

ference in the two cases: in walking round and round upon a number of skins filled with cream, which, after a time, in part becomes butter, the feet comes not *into contact* with either, whereas the Psalmist speaks of dipping the *naked* foot into the blood of the slain.

In answer to this, not to say that it is by no means certain, that David thought particularly of the foot being bare, when dipped in the blood of the wicked; and that, on the contrary, the feet and legs of warriors of that ancient time were covered, sometimes with defensative armour of brass¹: Jonah, in a prayer, or divine hymn, saith, "The waters " compassed me about even to the soul: the " depth closed me round about, *the weeds* " *were wrapt about my head.*" Now the weeds of the sea came not into contact with his head, when in the belly of the fish. Job then might as well, in the glowing language of Eastern poetry, be said to wash his feet in butter, as Jonah say, that the weeds were wrapped about his head: though no contact in either case.

Before I finish this article, I beg leave to touch on another passage of this ancient poem, which the management that obtains in these countries may serve to illustrate: "He shall " not see the rivers," says Zophar, "the " floods, the brooks of *honey and butter*."

¹ 1 Sam. 17. 6.

² Job 20. 17.

We,

We, in these cooler countries, have no great notion of butter being described as so extremely liquid; it appears among us in a more solid form. But as the plentiful flowing of *honey*, when pressed from the comb, may be compared, in strong language, to a little river, as it runs into the vessels in which it is to be kept; so, as they manage matters, *butter* is equally fluid, and may be described after the same way: so Dr. Shaw, after giving an account of making butter in a skin, says, "A great quantity of butter is "made in several places of these kingdoms"; "which, after it is boiled with salt, (in order "to precipitate the hairs and other nastinesses "occasioned in the churning,) they put into "jars, and preserve it for use. Fresh butter "soon grows sour and rancid²." Other authors give a like account.

Streams of butter then, poured, when clarified, into jars in which it is preserved, might as naturally be compared to rivers, as streams of honey flowing, upon pressure, into other jars, in which that other great article of Eastern diet was wont to be kept, for after-use—*The wicked man shall not see the rivulets, much less the rivers, less still the torrents of honey and butter which the upright man may hope to enjoy*: for such seems to be the gradation, and it is so expressed in the interlineary Latin translation of Pagnin, revised by Montanus.

* Those of Barbary.

* P. 169.

Unluckily the beauty of the *climax* is lost in our translation. Instead of continuing to rise, it sinks in the close—ending with *brooks*, after having mentioned *rivers* and *torrents*. The Vulgate uses only two of the words, *rivulets* and *torrents*, and by thus ranging them doth not destroy the energy of the gradation, though it makes it less complete.

OBSERVATION LI.

Dr. Chandler tells us¹, *that some dried figs, which he purchased, (in his travels in the Lesser Asia,) were strung like beads, and that he found them extremely good as well as cheap*: is it not probable then, that those *collections of figs*, which the Scriptures mention, were strings of this dried fruit, rather than *cakes* or *lumps*, as our translators render the original word²?

Dried figs, when closely packed, will certainly adhere together, and may be called cakes or lumps of figs, as is visible to every one that has visited our English shops where they are sold; and from thence our translators seem to have derived their ideas. But it doth not follow from thence, that they appear in the like form in the countries where they are

¹ P. 215.

² A marginal note of the Bishops' Bible is, "Or poundes. So many figges as cleave together like a cake, are called a cake."

actually dried, and laid up among their other stores, for their own consumption.

Two circumstances seem to shew that these ideas are not exact. In the first place, they seem to be spoken of as parcels of nearly the same size: *Abigail carried to David two hundred cakes of figs*, 1 Sam. xxv. 18. What notion can a reader form of the quantity of figs, if the *accidental* lumps of adhering figs were meant? Some lumps are ten times, it may be, larger than others, when they are taken out of the vessel in which they have been packed, and strongly squeezed together. A more determinate notion seems to have been intended to be conveyed by that term. So also when a *lump* of figs was ordered to be applied to Hezekiah's boil, 2 Kings xx. 7.

A second thing is, that when a part of such a parcel is spoken of, a word is used which signifies *'cutting'*: but cutting can by no means be necessary to divide a *lump of our figs* into parts. Nothing is more easily divided. But a string of figs might require cutting.

The Doctor has said nothing of the *number* of figs usually put on one string, or of the *weight* of one of these strings. It should seem they were but *small*, since Abigail carried David twice as many strings of figs as dried bunches of grapes, 1 Sam. xxv. 18.

* Pelach, 1 Sam. 30. 12.

Future travellers, perhaps, may ascertain these points with so much precision as may satisfy the curious.

I must however farther add, that I have somewhere met with an account, though I cannot cite the passage, that some of the people of those countries press their dried figs into vessels of a determinate size, which must enable them to make their lumps of figs equal to each other, and of a well-known bigness. But even in this case it cannot be necessary to part them by *cutting*.

OBSERVATION LII.

Melons, which are now so common, and at the same time in the *bighest esteem* in the East, are contemporary with grapes, with pomegranates, and with figs; one would be inclined then to imagine, that they have been introduced into the Holy-Land since the time Moses sent Joshua, and the other spies, from the wilderness of *Paran*, to examine, and bring back an account of it's productions; as writers tell us many other useful plants have been imported from other places into that country, or at least it's neighbourhood¹.

Melons, according to *Sir John Chardin*, are the most excellent fruit that they have in *Persia*²; and he tells us the season for eating

¹ See Dr. Shaw, p. 341.
din, tome 2, p. 18.

² Voy. de M. Char-

them holds four months¹. Dr. Shaw observed that *musk*, and *water-melons* began to be gathered the latter end of June in *Barbary*², consequently a month or more before either pomegranates, the common kind of fig, or the grape, begin to ripen. But if they hold four months, or about half so long only, they must have been found in the time of the *first ripe grapes*³, when the spies were sent out. Agreeable to this, Dr. Richard Chandler mentions *figs*, *melons*, such as are peculiar to hot climates, (I suppose he means water-melons,) and *grapes*, in large and rich clusters, fresh from the vineyard, were served up to him in Asia Minor, at the close of a repast at noon, in the month of *August*.

They certainly *now* grow in the Holy-Land. It is the fruit which Egmont and Heyman selected from all the rest that they found growing on Mount Carmel, as the subject of panegyric, being in themselves so excellent, and so much cultivated there⁴.

“ Doubtless,” says Dr. Shaw, “ the *water-melon*, or *angura*, or *pistacha*, or *dillah*, as they call it here, is providentially calculated for the *southern* countries, as it affords a cool refreshing juice, assuages thirst, mitigates feverish disorders, and compensates thereby, in no small degree, for the

¹ P. 19.² P. 141.³ For the grape, according to Shaw, begins to ripen in Barbary towards the end of July, p. 146.⁴ Vol. 2, p. 12.

“ excessive

“excessive heats, not so much of these as of
“the more southern districts’.”

Surely, if they had *then* grown in that country, the spies would have carried a sample of this refreshing fruit to the camp of Israel in Paran! as easy to be conveyed thither as any of those they brought to Moses. In fact melons are now carried to very distant places. *The best melons, according to Sir John Chardin, grow in Corasson, near the Little Tartary. . . . They bring them to Ispahan for the king, and to make presents of. They are not spoiled in the carrying, though they are brought above thirty days journey. He adds, that he had eaten, at Surat in the Indies, melons that had been sent from Agra. This, he observed, was still more extraordinary. They were carried by a man on foot, in baskets, one in a basket, being very large, which baskets were hanged on a pole, one at each end, the pole being laid on one of his shoulders, from whence, for ease, he shifted it to the other from time to time. These people go seven or eight leagues a day with their load.*

The way of carrying the cluster of grapes, from the valley of Eshcol, did not much differ². It would have been as easy to have carried some of the *melons* after this Persian manner, or in a basket between two, or as they did the uncured figs and pomegranates: their carrying none seems to show they then

¹ P. 141.

² Numb. 13. 23.

did not grow in that country, though they do now in plenty, and are so much valued as to be distinctly mentioned, when other fruits are taken no notice of.

It may even, possibly, be doubted whether they then commonly grew in *Ægypt*, notwithstanding that, according to our translation, the Israelites, in the Wilderness, regretted the want of them there: "We remember the fish which we did eat in *Ægypt* freely, the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlick," Numb. xi. 5. I have elsewhere shown that the justness of our version may be questioned, as to some other things mentioned here¹; and perhaps the second of the words used to describe the vegetables they longed after has been mis-translated.

It is true, they are now in great numbers, and in great variety, in *Ægypt*: but some of them, we are positively assured, have been introduced into that country, from other places, and some of them not very many ages back. Perhaps none of the *more delicious* of the melon-kind were aboriginal, or introduced so early as the time of Moses. The Septuagint, which is known to be an *Ægyptian* translation, supposed fruit of the melon-kind was meant by the *Hebrew* word², which appears no where else in the Old Testament;

¹ Observ. vol. 2, ch. 9, obs. 14.

² For they translate it *πεπονας*.

but it is to be remembered, that great improvements might have been, and doubtless actually were made, in the introducing foreign plants into Ægypt, between the time of *Moses* and that of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*. All, perhaps, that can be certainly said about it is, that if these water-melons were common in Ægypt, in the time the children of Israel sojourned there, it can be no wonder that they longed for them in those sultry deserts; and that as improvements went very slowly on in those very early times, they might not have been introduced into the land of Canaan, when the spies took a survey of it. Had they found it there, they would, no doubt, have brought a specimen of this fruit to Moses and Israel in the Wilderness. Nor would it have been unmentioned, in those passages that speak of the fertility of the country promised to the patriarchs.

It may be amusing to subjoin Maillet's account of this kind of fruit, in it's present state, in Ægypt'. *Among the different kinds of vegetables, which are of importance to supply the wants of life, or to render it more agreeable, he tells us, is the melon, which, without dispute, is there one of the most salutary and common among them. All the species that they have in Europe, and in the sea-parts of the Mediterranean, are to be found in Ægypt. Besides them, there is one, whose substance is green*

¹ Lett. 9, p. 11, 12.

and very delicious. It grows round like a bowl, and is commonly of an admirable taste. There are also water-melons, extremely good. But, above all the rest, at Cairo and it's neighbourhood, they boast of a species of melons, pointed at each end and swelling out in the middle, which the people of the country call *Abdelarins*. This is an Arabian word, which signifies the Slave of Sweetness. In fact these melons are not to be eaten without sugar, as being insipid without it. *Macrifi* says this last kind was formerly transported hither, by a man whose name they bear... They give it to the sick, to whom they refuse all other kinds of fruit. The rind is very beautifully wrought; it's figure very singular; as well as the manner of ripening it, which is by applying a red-hot iron to one of it's extremities. The people of the country eat it green as well as ripe, and in the same manner as we eat apples. These melons, of a foreign extraction, continue two whole months, and grow no where else in *Ægypt*. They say the same species is found in *Cyprus*.

OBSERVATION LIII.

The royal city of *Samaria* was so severely distressed, when a certain king of *Syria* besieged it, that we are told an ass's head then sold for fourscore pieces of silver, and the fourth part of a cab of doves-dung for five pieces: this last article has been thought to be so unfit

for food, that it has been very *commonly* imagined, I think, that a species of *pulse* was meant by that term¹; nevertheless, I cannot but think it much the most *probable*, that proper *doves-dung* was meant by the prophetic historian, since though it can hardly be imagined it was bought *directly* for food, it might be bought for the purpose of more *speedily* raising a supply of certain esculent vegetables, and in greater quantities, which must have been a matter of great consequence to the Israelites, shut up so straitly in Samaria.

Had the *kali* of the Scriptures been meant, how came it to pass that the common word was not made use of? *Josephus* and the *Septuagint* suppose that proper doves-dung was meant, and the following considerations may make their sentiment appear far from improbable.

All allow that *melons* are a most refreshing food, in those hot countries. And *Chardin* says, *melons are served up at the tables of the luxurious almost all the year; but that the proper season lasts four months, at which time they are eaten by the common people. They hardly eat any thing but melons and cucumbers at that time.* He adds, *that during these four melon months, they are brought in such quantities to Ispahan, that he believed more were eaten in*

¹ *Bochart* has taken a great deal of pains to support this notion, though by no means with equal success.

that

that city in one day, than in all France in a month¹.

On the other hand, he tells us, in another volume, that they have a multitude of dove-houses in Persia, which they keep up more for their dung than any thing else. This being the substance with which they manure their melon-beds, and which makes them so good and so large².

Now if melons were half so much in request in those days³ in Judæa, as they are now in Persia, it might be natural enough to express the great scarcity of provisions there, by observing an *ass's head*, which, according to their law was an *unclean animal*, sold for fourscore pieces of silver; and a small quantity of that *dung* that was most useful to quicken vegetation, as well as to increase those productions of the earth which were so desirable in those hot climates, that a small quantity, I say, of that substance should, in such circumstances, be sold for five such pieces. At least it is probable thus the *Septuagint* and *Josephus* understood the passage, if we should think it incredible that melons were in very common use in the days of *Joram* king of Israel. *Josephus*, in particular, says this dung was purchased for it's salt, which can hardly mean to be used, by means of some preparation, as *table-salt*, but as con-

¹ Voyages, tome 2, p. 19.

² Tome 3, p. 91.

³ Many generations after the time of Moses and the spies.

taining salt proper for manuring the earth. The prophet *Elisha*, in that very age, put salt into a spring of water, to express the imparting to it the quality of making the land watered by it *fruitful*, which land had been before *barren*, 2 Kings ii. 19—22, to which event *Josephus* could be no stranger.

It has been objected to this interpretation—that the doves-dung was for manure, (for this interpretation is not a *new* one, but wanted to be *better illustrated*,) that there could be no room for growing any kind of vegetable food within the walls of a *royal city*, when besieged; but has any one a right to take this for granted? when it is known that there is a good deal of ground unbuilt upon *now* in the royal cities of the East; that Naboth had a vineyard in Jezreel¹, a place of royal residence a few years before; that Samaria was a new-built city²; and that, in the time of distress, every void place might naturally be made use of to raise a species of food, that with due cultivation, *in our climate*, is brought to perfection, from the time of it's sowing, in four months, and at the same time is highly refreshing. When we reflect on these things, the supposition appears not at all to be improbable.

We know nothing when the siege commenced, or how long it continued; that of *Jerusalem*, in the time of *Zedekiah*, lasted, it

¹ 1 Kings 21. 1.

² Ch. 16. 24.

should

should seem, a year and half¹; but the time that this dung was purchased, at so dear a rate, we may believe was early in the spring, for then they begin to raise melons at Aleppo, and as they were then so oppressed with want, it is probable that it was not long after that they were delivered.

This explanation will appear less improbable, if we recollect the account I have given, in a preceding volume², of the siege of Damietta, where some of the more delicate Egyptians pined to death, according to de Vitriaco, though they had a sufficiency of corn, for want of the food they were used to, *pompions*, &c. The Israelites might be willing then, had their stores been more abundant than they were found to have been, to add what they could to them, and especially of such grateful eatables, as *melons*, &c.

OBSERVATION LIV.

They that are acquainted with the Greek and Roman Classics, and particularly with *Horace*, know how common it was with them to unite the fragrancy of *flowers* and sweet-scented *leaves* with the pleasures of wine; but they may not be so sensible, that it has been practised by the Eastern nations too: they

¹ 2 Kings 25. 1.

² Observ. vol. 2, ch. 9, obs. 12.

may, possibly, have supposed that they made such a free use of artificial perfumes, as to cause these natural vegetable odours to be neglected.

But a passage in the apocryphal author of the Wisdom of Solomon, who, whoever he was, was undoubtedly an Eastern writer, shows the contrary: "Let us fill ourselves with costly wine and ointments: and let no *flower of the spring* pass by us. Let us crown ourselves with rose-buds before they be withered." Ch. ii. 7, 8.

Here, instead of citing any passage from Western writers, I would set down the following passage from d'Herbelot. "*Kessai* one day presented himself at the door of the apartment of Al Mamon¹, to read one of his lectures. The prince, who was at table with his companions, wrote him a distich, upon a leaf of *myrtle*, the sense of which was: There is a time for study; and a time for diversion. This is a time I have destined for the enjoyment of friends, wine, roses and myrtle. *Kessai* having read this distich, answered it upon the back of the same myrtle-leaf, in four lines, the meaning of them as follows: If you had understood the excellence of knowledge, you would, without doubt, have preferred the pleasure that gives, to what you at pre-

¹ The son of the then reigning khalife, the celebrated Haroun al Raschid.

" sent

“ sent enjoy in company ; and if you knew
 “ who it is that is at your door, you would
 “ immediately rise, and come and prostrate
 “ yourself on the ground, praising and thank-
 “ ing God for the favour he had bestowed
 “ upon you. Al Mamon had no sooner read
 “ these verses, than he quitted his company,
 “ and came to his preceptor ¹. ”

Here we see *the rose and the myrtle* made use of in a princely drinking bout.

In like manner one of the volumes of the Arabian Night-Entertainments mentions myrtles, sweet-basil, lilies and jessamine, and other pleasant flowers and plants, as purchased in the time of a grand entertainment, in the days of the same khalife, Haroun al Raschid, along with wine, meat, various kinds of fruits and confections ².

This confirms the propriety of the apocryphal account in general, but unluckily gives no illustration to the spring-flowers which he mentions, *roses* not being properly described as *early* flowers, they with us in England belonging to the *middle of the summer*, and lilies and jessamine being *contemporary* with the rose, or nearly so. But it is to be remembered that roses flower in April in Judæa, and consequently jessamine, &c.

What is more, among the vegetable ornaments worn by the *Aleppine* ladies on *their* heads, we find much earlier flowers made use

¹ P. 961, art. Kessai.

² Vol. 1, N° 28.

of. Narcissuses, violets, and hyacinths, which Dr. Russell tells us blossom in the East very early in the spring¹; and are used by the women to decorate their head-dresses, along with many other flowers which he mentions², some of them late blowers. And such very early flowers might be in use among the gay people of the Jewish nation in their drinking bouts, and this writer might design to point out the continuation of these joyous assemblies, using the earliest flowers of the spring, with the rosebuds of summer, in their different seasons.

OBSERVATION LV.

The *burning of perfumes* is practised now in the East in times of feasting and joy, and there is reason to believe the same usage obtained anciently in those countries.

Niebuhr, in the first volume of his *Travels*, giving an account of the observation of a Mohammedan festival called *Arafa*, or *Kurban*, and taking notice that it lasts two or three days, and that the peasants during that time bring nothing to the market, so that every one is obliged to get on the vigil of the feast all the proper provisions for it, goes on to inform his readers³, *that they bought for their Mohammedan domestics flour, sugar, and*

¹ P. 13.

² P. 28.

³ P. 307. Voy. en Arabie, & en d'autres pays circonvoisins.

honey for the making of cakes, as also a sheep; they were even provided with *káad*¹. Then, after giving a farther account of the public manner of celebrating the festival, with a solemn procession, and military exercises, he adds, "After which every one returned home, "feasted, chewed *káad*, burnt *fragrant substances* in his house, stretched himself at "length on his sofa, lighted his kiddre, or "long pipe, with the greatest satisfaction²."

That the same obtained anciently among those in affluent circumstances, at least in times when they particularly enjoyed themselves, appears, I think, from the 16th of Ezekiel, ver. 13, 15, 18, 19. "Thus wast "thou decked with gold and silver, and thy "raiment was of fine linen, and silk, and "brodered work; thou didst eat fine flour, "and honey, and oil: and thou wast exceeding beautiful, and thou didst prosper into "a kingdom. But thou didst trust in thine "own beauty, and playedst the harlot. . . . "and tookest thy brodered garments, and "coveredst them, (thine idols:) and thou hast "set mine oil, and mine incense before them. "My meat also which I gave thee, fine flour, "and oil, and honey, wherewith I fed thee,

¹ This is a vegetable production the Arabians are very fond of chewing. He describes it in p. 299, where he tells us they are young shoots of a tree, which the Arabians chew, as the Indians do their *betel*. He found them placed in little bundles on the sofa of the *Dola* of *Taäs*, but he remarks that he could not relish this Arabian delicacy.

² P. 308.

“ thou hast even set it before them for a
“ sweet favour: and thus it was, saith the
“ Lord God.”

Here we see *honey and oil*, along with fine flour, used by this lady in her prosperity, as was prepared for their Mohammedan domestics in a time of Arabian rejoicing; and she is upbraided with giving to her idols what God had bestowed upon her for *her own* use and satisfaction, *broidered garments, lamps of oil, and incense, as well as meat, fine flour, oil and honey.*

OBSERVATION LVI.

Hasselquist takes notice of what appears to us an odd custom in Ægypt, which he supposes is very ancient, though he doth not apply it to the illustration of any passage of Scripture: it should seem, however, to be referred to by Solomon in the book of Proverbs.

He saw, he says, *a number of women, who went about inviting people to a banquet, in a singular, and, without doubt, very ancient manner. They were about ten or twelve, covered with black veils, as is customary in that country. They were preceded by four eunuchs: after them, and on the side, were moors with their usual walking staves. He says, as they were walking, they all joined in making a noise, which he was told signified their joy, but which he could not find resembled a joyful or pleasing song. The sound*

was so singular, as that he found himself at a loss to give an idea of it to those that never heard it. It was shrill, but had a particular quavering, which they learnt by long practice¹.

The passage in the Proverbs, which seems to allude to this practice, is the beginning of the ninth chapter: Wisdom . . . "hath killed
 " her beasts; she hath mingled her wine;
 " she hath also furnished her table. She
 " hath sent forth her maidens: she crieth upon
 " the highest places of the city, Whoso is
 " simple let him turn in hither: as for him
 " that wanteth understanding, she saith to
 " him, Come, eat of my bread, and drink of
 " the wine which I have mingled."

Here the reader observes, that the invitation is supposed to be made by more than one person; that they were of the female sex that were employed in the service; and that the invitation is supposed not to have been, as among us, a private message, but open to the notice of all. Whether it was with a singing tone of voice, as now in Ægypt, does not, determinately at least, appear by the word here made use of, and which is translated crieth: "She crieth (by her maidens) upon the
 " highest places of the city²."

¹ P. 56.

² The Romans in the East, it should seem, from the term made use of by St. Matthew, ch. 22. 2, sent their invitations by men-servants; not women, as is the modern Ægyptian practice: and, according to St. Luke, ch. 14. 17, only one messenger, instead of many.

It may not be improper to add, that though the Eastern people now eat out of the dishes oftentimes, which are brought in singly, and follow one another with great rapidity, not out of plates¹, yet many lesser *appendages* are placed round about the table by way of preparation, which seems to be what is meant by the expression, *she hath also furnished her table*²: in one word, *all things were then ready*³, and the more distant kinds of preparation had been followed by the nearer, 'till every thing was ready, so as that the repast might immediately begin.—The cattle were killed, the jars of wine emptied into drinking vessels, and the little attendants on the great dishes placed on the table.

OBSERVATION LVII.

The heat of the countries of the East is so great, that their inhabitants, it should seem, take great pleasure in repairing to places of

¹ Chandler, Russell, &c.

² A piece of red cloth, cut in a round form, is spread upon the divan under the table, to prevent that from being soiled; and a long piece of silk-stuff is laid round, to cover the knees of such as sit at table, which has *no covering* but the victuals. Pickles, salads, small basons of leban, bread and spoons, *are disposed in proper order* round the edges. The middle is for the dishes, which (among the great people) are brought in one by one; and after each person has ate a little, they are changed. Russell, p. 105.

³ Luke 14. 17, where the expression may be understood after the same manner.

shade, water, and verdure, to take a joyous repast there; and particularly at the times of their *religious rejoicing*.

To fountains, or rivers, Dr. Chandler tells us, in his Travels, “ the *Turks* and the “ *Greeks* frequently repair for refreshment; “ especially the latter, on their festivals, when “ whole families are seen sitting on the grass, “ and enjoying their early or evening repast, “ beneath the trees, by the side of a rill’.”

Nor are they always cold collations on these occasions, for speaking of a Greek solemnity, which they called a *Panegyris*, or general assembly, to which men and boys, women with infants, and persons decrepit from old age, repaired, he goes on to tell us: “ It is the custom of the Greeks, on these “ days, after fulfilling their religious duties, “ to indulge in festivity. Two of *their* mu- “ ficians, seeing us sitting under a shady tree, “ where we had dined, came and played be- “ fore us.—After satisfying them, we went “ up to the place, at which the Greeks were “ assembled.—We were told it was a place “ of *great sanctity*. The multitude was sitting “ under half-tents, with store of melons and “ grapes, besides lambs and *sheep to be killed*, “ wine in gourds and skins, and other ne- “ cessary provisions.” P. 44.

I do not know that the feast made by Adonijah pretended to have *any connexion with*

* Travels in Asia Minor, p. 21.

religion, but in other respects it was like these modern entertainments : *it was held by a well, or fountain of water, and there he slew sheep, and oxen, and fat cattle, and called his brethren, and the principal people of the kingdom, to the entertainment, 1 Kings i. 9.* It was not chosen for *secrecy*, for it was in the neighbourhood of the royal city¹, but for *pleasantness* ; it was not a magnificent *cold collation*, the animals, on the contrary, on which they feasted, were *killed and dressed on the spot*, for this princely repast. This last circumstance would appear very strange in a *fête champêtre* of this country, but is perfectly, we find, in the modern Oriental taste.

There has been such alterations made in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, in the course of such a number of centuries, that we cannot pretend to judge, from what now remains, whether this entertainment was held under slight tents, or merely under the shade of the trees that grew there. The modern Eastern people make use of both methods, as circumstances direct ; but probably would choose the protection of a *shady tree*, rather than of a *tent*, if it might as easily be had.

It should seem to me that Isaiah refers to a

¹ I cannot suppose the feast was held here for *secrecy*, though I am aware that En-Rogel was the place, in which two of the fast friends of King David had laid *hid* some time before : but it might be easy for two persons to lie concealed among trees and bushes by a fountain, when numbers could not ; especially in holding a solemn feast.

practice of this sort, which obtained in those very early times, in those words of his 49th chapter: "That thou mayest say to the prisoners, Go forth; to them that are in darkness, Shew yourselves. They shall feed in the ways, and their pastures shall be in high places. They shall not hunger nor thirst; neither shall the heat or sun smite them: for he that hath mercy on them, shall lead them, even by the springs of water shall he guide them. And I will make all my mountains a way, and my highways shall be exalted¹."

The thoughts of many people have been turned, I imagine, to the *feeding of cattle* by the way-side, and gathering their food on the hills, which last Dr. Shaw informs us are the places most proper, in those countries, for the pasturing of cattle, *on account of the springs of excellent water there, too much wanted, especially in the summer season, not only in the plains of the Holy-Land, but of other countries in the same climate*². But it should seem a more natural and easy interpretation, to understand the words of such pleasurable excursions, usual now in the East, and made use of, it should seem, in ancient times also. So a princess is represented in a sacred song as saying, "Come, my Beloved, let us go forth into the field: let us lodge in the villages. Let us get up early to the vineyards, &c." Sol. Song, vii. 11, 12.

¹ Is. 49. 9, 10, 11.

² P. 240.

Thus the contrast will appear quite natural, as well as lively, in this passage of Isaiah, between being shut up in *prison*, secluded from *fresh air*, and even the *light* itself, in unwholesome dungeons; and walking at liberty, enjoying the verdure, and the enlivening air of the country: passing from the tears, the groans, and the apprehensions of such a dismal confinement; to the music, the songs, and the exquisite repasts of Eastern parties of pleasure.

It is readily acknowledged, that there is an harshness and roughness in some other images made use of by poets, that lived many ages ago, and in countries whose conceptions, as well as manners, so widely differ from ours; but there is no occasion to *prefer* such explanations, when others offer themselves that are as easy and natural, and at the same time give a view of such contrasted matters, as is by much the most lively and affecting.

I would only farther add, that there is no occasion to translate the original word by the English term *pastures*, which is appropriated to the places where cattle eat; the original words are of a much more general nature, and may be translated: "They shall take their repasts in the ways, and their eating-places shall be in all eminences," as the people of those countries, at this day, enjoy themselves, when on a party of pleasure, sitting at their collations under shady trees by the highway side; and near their springs of
O 4
water,

water, which most abound, as well as their trees, on their hills, according to Dr. Shaw. And answerable to the delicacy, as well as the plenty of what is provided for these joyous excursions, and also to the nature of their hills, the prophet goes on, "They shall not *hunger nor thirst*, neither shall the heat or *sun smite them*," (the suffocating hot winds of those countries, which *blow in their deserts*; nor the *fierce*, and sometimes *deadly* rays of the mid-day sun, to which some have been exposed :) "for he that hath mercy on them *shall lead them, even by the springs of water shall he guide them.*"

Neither were they to be indulged only in such pleasing excursions in the land of their captivity, being brought out of prison, as one of the Jewish princes was by Evil-merodach¹, king of Babylon, *who not only brought him out of prison, but turned his sorrows into a state of consolation, setting his throne above the throne of the other kings that were with him in Babylon*; but Isaiah, in the next verse, turns the thoughts of those that heard his predictions, from these short excursions of pleasure to the more exquisite joy of returning to their own land.

Nor is it *altogether improbable*, that the Psalmist² might refer to such amusing little journies of the Jews in the land of their captivity, when he says, "By the rivers of

¹ Jer. 52. 31, 32.

² Ps. 137. 1-3.

"Babylon,

" Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept when we remembered Zion. We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof." The *sitting by the waters*, and still more the mention of *their harps*, strongly inclines the mind to this conception; and the supposed contrast between the original design of these assemblings, and the mournings into which they were in fact thrown, when they were led to remember Zion, would give a beauty and life to this passage, which otherwise do not appear.

Other travellers, as well as Dr. Chandler, mention their having music in these excursions, and the Doctor tells us, that he found the shepherds, that watched their sheep in a mountain to which he accidentally went, *hung the things they wanted to make use of on a tree*; so that the circumstance of *hanging their harps* on the willows that grew by the rivers of Babylon was quite natural, when the remembrance of the songs of the Temple made them burst into tears, and turned the intended merry-meeting into a scene of lamentation and wailing.

It is no objection to this, that the Jews were in a state of captivity in Babylon, for though some of their principal people might be kept in prison, and treated with harshness, yet the prophet Jeremiah supposed numbers of them would be sufficiently *at their ease*, to admit the supposing they might go from time to time to *shady places*, near *their rivers*, to

take a joyous repast. For in a prophetic letter which he wrote to the Jews in Babylon, he assured them they should obtain considerable degrees of favour in the land of their captivity: "Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel, unto all that are carried away captives, whom I have caused to be carried away from Jerusalem unto Babylon; Build ye houses, and dwell in them; and plant gardens, and eat the fruit of them. Take ye wives, and beget sons and daughters; and take wives for your sons, and give your daughters to husbands, that they may bear sons and daughters: that ye may be increased there, and not diminished. And seek the peace of the city, whither I have caused you to be carried away captives, and pray unto the Lord for it: for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace." Jer. xxix.

And though the Jewish law was understood to forbid their associating with those of another nation, yet these repasts being held by the way-sides, by fountains or rivers, numbers of the people of Babylon, passing by, might stop to hear the music, and might very naturally be understood to say, Sing us one of the songs of Sion, curious to hear what kind of melody had been made use of in the Temple. The word translated *required*, does not signify an *authoritative order*, but merely asking them in a manner consistent with friendliness, and even complaisance.

Galled

Galled however with such a request, they put an end to their music as soon as they well could, and hung their harps on the trees under which they sat.

OBSERVATION LVIII.

The people of these countries not only enjoy themselves, in forming parties of pleasure which repose themselves under trees in warm weather, indulging themselves in eating and drinking there; but they frequently invite passengers to partake with them in their repasts. The prophet Zechariah seems to refer to these *invitations* in the close of his third chapter: "In that day, saith the Lord of Hosts, shall ye call every man his neighbour under the vine, and under the fig-tree."

The words, in themselves, might be thought indeterminate, and it might be queried, whether they signified, that every one should call to his neighbours, who were sitting under trees for enjoyment and repast; or whether they signified, that every one that was sitting under such trees should call to those that passed by, to come and partake with them in their pleasures. But the usages of those countries lead us to apprehend, the last is the sense of the prophet, and the words seem to be capable of that construction.

Thus

Thus Dr. Richard Chandler, in his *Travels in Asia Minor*, tells us', *That a Greek at Philadelphia sent them a small earthen vessel full of choice wine; and that some families, who were sitting beneath some trees, by a rill of water, invited them to alight, and partake of their refreshments.*

The taking their repasts thus in *public* expressed *safety and pleasure*; and the calling to passengers to partake with them a spirit of *friendliness and generosity*. A state very contrary to that in which Israel had some little time before found themselves: "Son of man," said God to Ezekiel, "I will break the staff of
" bread in Jerusalem, and they shall eat
" bread by weight, and with care, and they
" shall drink water by measure, and with
" astonishment," Ezek. iv. 16, 17. And again, ch. xii. 18, "Son of man, eat thy bread with
" quaking, and drink thy water with trembling,
" and with carefulness; and say unto the people of the land, Thus saith the Lord God, of
" the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and of the
" land of Israel, They shall eat their bread with
" carefulness, and drink their water with
" astonishment, that her land may be desolate from
" all that is therein, because of the violence
" of them that dwell therein."

The *half-starved* Arabs of the Desert, without ceremony, sit down to eat with any that they happen to see taking their repast; so the

' P. 250.

author of the Travels of Egmont and Heyman tells us, that when they were within an hour and an half of the convent of Mount Sinai, *the Arabians of the neighbourhood came to congratulate them on their arrival, and, according to the custom of the country, sat down by them, for whenever they see any eating or drinking, they join the company without the least ceremony*.

However dubious then the words in themselves may be, grammatically considered, they cannot well be understood as signifying every one's calling to, or addressing those that sat under trees taking their repast, since that, as in the case of the wild Arabs, would express *want*; but as expressing the *liberality* with which Israel, on their return, should invite all that came into their view, to share with them in the bounties of Providence, and the *safety* as well as plenty with which they should be surrounded.

OBSERVATION LIX.

Plutarch, in one of his books, observes, that the Greeks frequently, for pleasure, took a repast on the sea-shore; and M. Doubdan has mentioned, his finding some of the inhabitants of the confines of the Holy-Land enjoying themselves, in like manner, near the sea, eat-

ing and smoking there : which accounts, especially when put together, may give us the most exact view, of what passed between our Lord and the disciples on the shore of the sea of Galilee, of which St. John has given us the history in the last chapter of his Gospel.

The substance of what Plutarch saith is as follows : *What do they mean, who inviting one another to form a party of pleasure, say, Let us eat to day on the sea-shore? Don't they show that they consider an entertainment on the sea-shore as the most delightful? Certainly not on account of the waves and the pebbles there, but because they have the best opportunity of furnishing their table with plenty of fish, perfectly fresh*.

To this I would subjoin the account Doubdan gives, of what happened to him in a short voyage from St. John d'Acre to Sidon. They hired, it seems, a fishing-boat for this voyage : through the indolence of the seamen, who would not row, they got no farther than Tyre that night. In the morning, not being, as when they went to Jerusalem, in a boat whose proper business it was to carry passengers, but at the mercy of four or five fishermen, who did nothing but cast their nets into the sea, most commonly without success, exposed to the burning heat of the sun by day, and severe cold in the night, they employed a

* Symposiac, lib 4, probl. 4.

poor Jew, who was with them in the bark, and who could speak a little of the language used by Franks in that country, to call upon them to push forward, that they might arrive in good time at Sidon. But, contrary to their agreement, they immediately cast their nets into the sea, to procure themselves a dinner. Then *they landed to dress their fish, and to eat it*, after which they slept for more than two hours, while Doubdan, and those with him, were broiling with the scorching sun over-head, and the heated rocks underneath. Being put out again to sea, upon the promise of an augmentation of their pay, they took up their oars, and rowed with briskness, for four or five miles, in order to reach Sidon that same day. They then grew tired, and being inclined to return to their fishing, they put Doubdan and his companions on shore, where there was a very large and deep cavern, which had been hollowed by the violence of the waves, which enter it with fury upon the least wind that blows, and immediately applied themselves to cook some small fishes with some rice, and, without speaking one word to Doubdan, carried all on board the bark, and went away toward the place from whence they came, so that they lost sight of them in a few moments. This unexpected accident extremely astonished them, and what was worse, there were many Turks, Moors, and Arabs, of a variety of colours, in this cavern, of whom some were reclined on the sand,

land, enjoying the fresh air; *some were dressing provisions among these rocks*; others were smoking tobacco; notwithstanding the apparent danger of the fall of great pieces of the rocks, which frequently happened: but it is common for them to retire hither, on account of a spring of fine water which glides along here, and is always extremely cool¹.

On these accounts I would make some remarks.

1st. That the *Greeks* were wont, not unfrequently, *to eat a repast on the sea-shore*; and that the *Syrians*, in the neighbourhood of the Holy-Land, are wont to do the same, and people too that dwell in Syria of very different nations: Turks, Moors, and Arabs.

2dly. That whatever other delicacies the *Greeks* might carry with them, on occasion of these parties of pleasure, they were wont to make use of that opportunity, to regale themselves on the *fresh fish* that happened to be *caught, or brought to shore, while they were there*. And by what is said of these fishermen, the *Syrians* too are very fond of fish; as it appears, from the words of our Lord, the *Jews* of that time were: "If a son shall ask bread of any of you that is a father, will he give him a stone? or if he ask a *fish*, will he for a fish give him a serpent? ... If ye then, being evil, know how

¹ Voy. de la Terre-Sainte, ch. 61.

“ to give *good gifts* unto your children : how
“ much more, &c¹.”

3dly. When the Eastern fishermen are disposed to eat, it seems they frequently eat some of *their own fish* which they have caught ; but that they are wont to land in order to dress it, whereas our fishermen dress their food on board their vessels, at least generally.

In what light then, after making these remarks, must our Lord's visit to the apostles appear, which is recorded in the beginning of the 21st of John !

If they first saw a *man on the sea-shore*, whom they did not immediately know, who appearing near a *fire*, asked them if they had caught any fish ; was it not natural for them to suppose it was somebody who was a stranger to them, who was come to the sea-shore to enjoy the freshness of the air, and to regale himself with some new-caught fish there ? If so, the word *children*², which he made use of, is to be understood as a familiar term made use of by a supposed superior to an inferior, and fishermen were looked upon as being of a very low profession.

There was nothing so particular in his being alone, and unattended by servants, as to fix their attention, and lead them to suspect

¹ Luke II. 11, 13.

² *Children*, have you any meat ? The word doth not mean flesh-meat, but have you caught any fish proper for eating.

something extraordinary in this. He might affect something of solitude, or expect company to join him, or he might be a traveller, for any thing they knew, who might choose to take his repast on the shore, as companies of people did in excursions of pleasure. There were two travellers indeed that are described as regaling themselves by the side of the Tigris, on a fish newly caught, and which they roasted or broiled on some coals, of which mention is made in the book of Tobit¹; but it should seem Jacob travelled *all alone*, when he went into Mesopotamia. They might then take him to be some traveller; or they might look upon him to be one belonging to a party of pleasure, sent beforehand to prepare matters for the rest that were to follow in due time; or one that, though unaccompanied, was resolved to enjoy the pleasures of the sea-side.

There might appear nothing extraordinary *in his directing to throw the net on the right-side of the ship*, it being no unusual thing for people on shore to make signals to fishing-vessels, pointing out to them the way the shoals of fish are taking. Nor was it their *taking fish*, in consequence of the direction that our Lord gave them, that occasioned their apprehending it was he himself, but the *astonishing number of large fishes* they had inclosed in their net, which first, it should seem, occasioned John to apprehend it was Jesus.

¹ Ch. 6. 3, 5.

Rocky eminences are frequently met with on the sea-shore, from whence there is a view to the seaward pretty extensive : there were such prominences on the shore on which the fishermen landed *Doubdan*, and where he found Moors and Arabs enjoying themselves, and which rocks *Doubdan* ascended when these Moors and Arabs began to look sourly upon them, from whence they descried their ship, and called to the people aboard to take them in^{*}, and such there might be on this part of the shore of the sea of Gennesareth.

Nor will it occasion any great difference, if we should range these two circumstances in the contrary way : if we should suppose they first saw our Lord on some eminence by the sea-side ; and *afterwards*, as they approached the land, in consequence of their success, saw a fire burning on the shore, and bread laid there, as if some person intended to regale himself.

It is neither necessary to suppose that the *ὄψιον* that the disciples saw, along with the bread, on the shore, was a fish, or that it laid upon the coals. *Plutarch*, in the place before cited, observed that there were various kinds of things that came under that Greek term, though *fish* was considered as the best sort. It might mean some other kind of *delicious associate with bread* : what in particular the Evangelist did not intend to express, nor

* Voy. de la Terre-Sainte, p. 542.

can we know. On another occasion, the disciples gave our Lord a piece of a broiled fish, and of an *honey-comb*¹. The honey-comb was one kind of Οψαριον, was then used, and might now be laid on the shore, for aught we know to the contrary.

For the word ἐπικειμενον, in the 9th verse, doth not, I think, necessarily imply that the thing, whatever it was, *laid upon* the coals; it is sufficient if it laid not far from them. But whatever it was, and if we suppose actually laid upon the coals, it seems to me not very natural to understand the word as signifying a *fish*; for how odd must it appear to them to have this person ask for fish, when he, at that very time, had fish broiling on the coals. It appears to me most probably to signify some other sort of provision, of a kind to be eaten with bread.

An instance of an unnecessary limiting the meaning of words may be observed as to this very term: our translators here *unnecessarily*, and, as it seems to me, *improperly*, limit the meaning of the term to *fish*, when it appears to signify any proper adjunct to bread, at least of the *delicious* kind; and in the translation of John vi. 9, they limit the sense still more, and suppose the word signifies *little* fishes, when the historian says nothing of the size, nor would it lose the glory of being a *miraculous* repast, when five barley loaves, and

¹ Luke 24. 42.

two fishes, sufficed to feed five thousand people, and the fragments afterward filled twelve baskets, though we should suppose they were two karmuds, or two of the bonni species, two kinds of fish which are found in the sea of Tiberias, and which are said to weigh near thirty pounds each^{*}. However, it should seem, they were not so large, as they were brought thither for sale by a *little* lad, according to the import of the Greek word made use of there, though they might not be what we call small fishes.

When the nets were drawn on shore, he that called to them to know whether they had caught any thing, ordered them to bring some of the fish to him, for his use, which, as he appeared as a stranger, we are to suppose was done in consequence of a purchase made of them; he then immediately applied himself to the preparing them for eating, while they were busied in clearing the net, and when the fish were broiled, and they began to be a little at leisure, he said to them, "Come and dine," ver. 12, or take some refreshment after your toil this morning. This is quite in the present *Arab taste*, the Arabs inviting strangers to eat with them, and even those of figure asking people in very low life. Our Lord Jesus here expressed the same kind of generosity mingled with humility: *He* all

^{*} See Obs. on divers Pass. of Script. vol. 2, ch. 8, obs. 4.

the while claiming no knowledge of them ; nor they of him.

Had he not asked them to eat with him, they would soon, in course, have prepared for themselves : they had plenty of provisions ; they were come to the shore, to which we find, by *Doubdan*, the fishermen of that country are wont to repair, when they are disposed to dress the fish they catch ; and they had made a very abundant capture, and wanted not immediately to return to their fishing. But this stranger, by his generosity, made such care unnecessary on their part, having got a fire ready, and prepared bread : nothing was wanted but the broiling the fish.

When it is said, v. 4, " The disciples " knew not that it was Jesus," it means that they did not know at first sight, upon seeing him standing on the shore ; when it is said, v. 12, " None of the disciples durst ask " him, who art thou ? knowing it was the " Lord," it expresses their not being all perfectly satisfied it was their Lord, at the time of his inviting them to come and eat with him, while yet it was unlawful for a Jew to eat with one of another nation[†], and there was a mixture of Gentiles among them, particularly in Galilee[‡], yet they were so apprehensive it might be Jesus, that none dared to express so much doubt of it as to ask the

[†] Acts 10. 28, ch. 11. 3.

[‡] Called Galilee of the *Gentiles*, Mat. 4. 15.

question :

question: but when he came to take bread, and to give it to them, the like circumstances as caused the two disciples at Emmaus to recognise their Lord¹, it is natural to suppose, produced the same effect in them here; and if there had been the least shadow of a doubt that remained, it must have been removed by the manner of his addressing Peter, “Simon “son of Jonas, lovest thou me more than “these? He saith unto him, Yea, Lord, thou “knowest that I love thee. He saith unto “him, Feed my lambs, &c.” Accordingly, however unapprehensive they were of it’s being their Lord at first, St. John gives it as a fact of which they were fully assured before our Lord retired.

I will only add, that by the story of *Doubdan* it appears, that the Eastern fishermen are disposed to put ashore, and eat fish early in the day, as well as towards evening.

OBSERVATION LX.

Our version of Gen. xxxi. 46, represents Jacob’s *sitting*, with his relations and friends, when he held a solemn feast, *on an heap of stones*²: one would be inclined to suspect the

¹ Luke 24. 35.

² And Jacob said unto his brethren, Gather stones: and they took stones, and made an heap; and they did eat there UPON the heap.

justness of the translation, as to this circumstance, of the manner in which he treated his friends; but it is made *less incredible*, by the account Niebuhr has given us, in the first volume of his Travels, of the manner in which some of the nobles of the court of the Imam seated themselves, when he visited that prince at Saná of Arabia, his capital city¹.

It is certain the particle (*gnal*), translated in this passage *upon*, sometimes signifies *near to*, or something of that sort: so it is twice used in this sense, Gen. xvi. 7, “And the
“Angel of the Lord found her *by* a fountain
“of water in the wilderness, *by* the fountain
“in the way to Shur.” So Gen. xxiv. 13,
“Behold, I stand here *by* the well of water,
“and the daughters of the men of the city
“come out to draw water.” The same may be observed in many other places of the book of Genesis.

Consequently the sitting of Jacob and Laban, with their relations and friends, might be understood to have been only *near* the heap of stones which was collected together upon this occasion, and designed for a memorial of present reconciliation, and reciprocal engagement to preserve peace and amity in future times; but their actual sitting *on* this heap of stones may perhaps appear somewhat less improbable, after reading the following passage of Niebuhr's Travels, relating to his being

¹ P. 339.

admitted to an audience of the *Imam* of Yemen.

“ I had gone from my lodgings indisposed, and by standing so long found myself so faint, that I was obliged to ask permission to quit the room. I found near the door some of the principal officers of the court, who were sitting, in a scattered manner, in the shade, *upon stones*, by the side of the wall. Among them was the Nakib (the general, or rather master of the horse) *Gbeir Allah*, with whom I had had some acquaintance before. He immediately resigned his place to me, and applied himself *to draw together stones into an heap, in order to build himself a new seat.*”

This management to us appears very strange; it might possibly be owing to the extreme heat of that time of the year in that country¹, which made sitting on the ground very disagreeable; it can hardly however be supposed that they sat upon the heap of stones that had been gathered together on *Mount Gilead*², for this reason, since high grounds are cooler than those that lie low³; since it was in the spring-time, when the heat is more moderate, for it was at the time of sheep-

¹ The latter end of July. See also p. 245, where we have an account of their not sitting on the ground, in another part of Arabia, which is a burning sand.

² Gen. 31. 21.

³ This is a remark made by Niebuhr, over and over again, in this volume of his Travels.

shearing :

shearing¹: but it might be *wet*, and disagreeable sitting on the ground, especially as they were not furnished with a sufficient number of carpets, pursuing after Jacob in a great hurry; and several countries furnishing stones *so flat* as to be capable of being formed into a pavement, or seat, not so uneasy as we may have imagined. *Mount Gilead* might be such a country. It might also be thought to tend more strongly to impress the mind, when this feast of reconciliation was eaten upon that very heap that was designed to be the lasting memorial of this renewed friendship².

As for the making use of heaps of stones *for a memorial*, many are found to this day in these countries, and not merely by *land*, for they have been used for *sea-marks* too: so Niebuhr, in this same volume, tells us of an heap of stones placed upon a rock in the Red-Sea, which was designed to warn them that sailed there of the dangerousness of the place, that they might be upon their guard³.

¹ Gen. 31. 19.² V. 48—52.³ P. 208.

C H A P. V.

Their Manner of travelling.

OBSERVATION LXI.

THE hospitality of the East toward travellers has been greatly celebrated, and it has been represented as their favourite virtue; but it should seem to be *sometimes*, however, a mark of *subjection*, and *not voluntary*, and in such cases therefore not much a ground of praise.

Dr. Shaw takes notice of this circumstance, in the preface to his Travels in Barbary, but has not applied it to the elucidation of any passage of the Scriptures, and therefore it may be introduced among these papers.

“ In this country,” (says the Doctor, speaking of *Barbary*,) “ the *Arabs* and *other inhabitants* are obliged, either by long custom; by the particular tenure of their lands; or from fear and compulsion, to give the *spahis*, and their company, the *mounab*, as they call it; which is such a sufficient quantity of provisions for ourselves, together with straw and barley for our mules and horses. Besides a bowl of milk, and a basket of figs, raisins, or dates, which, upon our arrival, were presented to us, to stay our appetites,

“petites, the master of the tent, where we
 “lodged, fetched us from his flock (ac-
 “cording to the number of our company)
 “a kid or a goat, a lamb or a sheep; half of
 “which was immediately seethed by his wife,
 “and served up with cuscafooe; the rest was
 “made kab-ab, i. e. cut into pieces (μισυλλον
 “is the term, *Hom. Il. A.* ver. 465) and
 “roasted; which we reserved for our break-
 “fast or dinner the next day¹.”

In the next page of his preface, the Doctor
 says, “When we were entertained in a cour-
 “teous manner (for the *Arabs* will sometimes
 “supply us with nothing ’till it is extorted
 “by force) the author used to give the master
 “of the tent a knife, a couple of flints, or
 “a small quantity of English gunpowder;
 “&c.” And observes afterwards², that to
 prevent such parties from living at free charges
 upon them, the *Arabs* take care to pitch in
 woods, valleys, or places the least conspicuous,
 and that in consequence they found it difficult
 oftentimes to find them.

The *Arabs*, who are strangers, permitted to
 feed their flocks and herds in that country,
 are not, it seems, the only people of those
 countries that are obliged to accommodate
 the *Turks*, who have conquered those districts,
 when they travel, and also the company they
 bring with them; but it is unwillingly, no
 virtue, but the effect of fear, and exacted as

¹ P. 12.² 17.

a mark of submission, due from the conquered to those that have conquered them.

This management appears to be *very ancient*, and to be referred to in the Septuagint translation of Prov. xv. 17, and not improbably in the original Hebrew itself, and for that reason I have taken notice of it here; though that passage is, I think, understood commonly, if not always, by moderns, of entertainments made by one's own countrymen and apparent friends, but who are really enemies, to some of their guests, or at least disposed to quarrel¹. But the Septuagint understands it, and it should seem more truly, of the forced accommodating of travellers, which Arabs and conquered people were anciently obliged to submit to, as they still are.

The words of the Septuagint may be seen below², and they amount to this, *Better is a repast given to us on the road as strangers, consisting merely of herbs, with friendliness and goodwill; rather than the setting before us a delicacy, and particularly the flesh of a calf, with hatred.*

It was not unusual then, in the age and country of these ancient Greek translators, for travellers to eat at the expence of those that were not pleased with entertaining them; and who sometimes would not do it, at least in the manner the travellers liked, without

¹ See Bishop Patrick upon the place.

² Κριστων ΞΕΝΙΣΜΟΣ μίλα λαχάνων προς φιλιαν καὶ χάριν, ἢ παραθίσις μισχων μετα ἐχθρας.

brawlings,

brawlings, and a kind of force, which could not but produce hatred. So that, as it is now practised in Barbary by the Turks, it was formerly in like manner practised in Ægypt, towards the *Arabs* that probably might then feed their flocks there, as they certainly do now; and towards the natural Ægyptians, over whom the Ptolemies, with their Greek companions, might tyrannise, as the Turks do at this time over the people of Barbary.

It is possible this turn might then first be given to this proverb of Solomon; but it is most natural, I should apprehend, to suppose this was the original meaning of it: since the Hebrew word signifies *provision for a journey*, as Jer. xl. 5, where persons carried their food with them; and may as well signify the food that was wont to be given them, by those to whom they applied in journeying, when they travelled in inhabited countries, where they thought they had reason to expect they should be supplied, at free cost, with necessaries in their journeying. It is indeed made use of even to express a quantity of provisions sufficient for one day, *like that given to travellers*, though allowed from day to day to those that were not travelling, but statedly treated after this manner, for it is used to express the daily allowance granted by Evilmerodach king of Babylon to Jehoiachin, the Jewish royal captive, both by the prophet Jeremiah,

Jeremiah, and the prophet that wrote the history of the Jewish kings¹.

But can it be supposed that such *forced hospitality*, it may be asked, came under the notice of Solomon; or at least was requisite to be mentioned by him in his instructions given the Jewish people? I would answer, many people resided at that time in his kingdom, who, we have reason to think, were on much the same footing with the conquered inhabitants of Barbary, of whom we read, 2 Chron. ii. 17, 18, where they are called *strangers*, and were employed in works of *hard labour*, from which the Israelites were free. Now *such* might be under the like Eastern obligation to entertain those they lived under, in their travelling up and down; as also might the people of the adjoining countries, who are said to have been under the dominion of King Solomon². And as some might be courteous and submissive, others might be rugged, and refuse to kill a kid or a lamb for them, and endeavour to put off these undesired guests with meaner diet.

Nor would it have been a maxim unworthy of the care of Solomon, to instil into the minds of the Jewish people not to insist too harshly on these Eastern usages, with respect to the strangers that lived among them, or the conquered about them, from motives of tenderness for the honour of the Jewish religion, as

¹ 2 Kings 25. 30. Jer. 52. 34.

² 1 Kings 4. 24.

well

well as those of true policy—Content yourselves with the refreshment derived from a repast of *herbs*, if they only are offered you; rather than strive to force them to give you a more honourable entertainment: for better is a repast on herbs with good-will and friendliness, than a feast on a fatted calf, wrung from them by severity and violence.

It is indeed *universally* true, that a mean meal, where peace and friendship reign, is better than a magnificent entertainment attended with strife; but as Solomon seems to speak of a repast in a journey, the explanation I have been giving appears to me to be the most natural.

It only remains to enquire, what the *herbs* may be supposed to have been, which it may be imagined might be set before a stranger of such a character, when on a journey; as for the opposite, the flesh of a calf, we know, from several places of Scripture, it was looked upon to be a most delicious and honourable dish¹.

Solomon doth not appear to have any particular species of herbs in view, and therefore it may be agreeable only just to give an account of what travellers, in the Levant, have actually seen made use of on such occasions.

When Dr. Chandler was in the East, *bread*, *fruit* of various kinds, honey, eggs, fowls,

¹ Gen. 18. 7. 1 Sam. 28. 24, &c.

kids, were what he often procured; while some of his Eastern attendants were satisfied with some *sour curds*, *salt cheese*, and *hard brown bread*; seldom mentioning any *herbs* as eaten by him or them in his excursions, and which therefore may signify that they were reckoned a still meaner diet: but in one place, in *Greece*, he gives us an account of some *green samphire*, which was gathered from a rock, and made part of his noon-tide repast¹.

The Baron de Tott, speaking of his going along with some natives of the country on a party of pleasure, from Constantinople to the Asiatic side of the Straits, where, in a beautiful meadow, coffee was taken in the Turkish manner, after covered chariots drawn by small buffaloes had well jolted the ladies, &c, tells us, they brought back with them, from this excursion, some curds, and *water-creffes* gathered from the side of a spring².

Dandelion, according to Dr. Russell, is used at *Aleppo* in salading; and *summer savory*, which being dried and powdered, and mixed with salt, is often eaten as a relisher with bread, serves many of the natives by way of breakfast in the winter season³.

But M. Doubdan gives an account of a repast still more humble than what I have been mentioning. Making an excursion with some Christians, he went from Jerusalem to

¹ Trav. in Greece, p. 198.

² Trav. part I,

p. 97.

³ P. 27.

a village called St. Samuel, because the sepulchre of that prophet is supposed to be there. Leaving this town to the left, and going on a little farther, they arrived at an excellent fountain, called by the same name, springing out of an huge rock, and shaded with small shrubs, where they stopped to dine in the fresh air on the grass : *I admired, while I was dining, says this writer, the sobriety of the Armenian bishops and the Maronite monk, who would eat nothing, notwithstanding all our entreaty, but salading, without salt, without oil, or vinegar, at the same time refusing to drink a single drop of wine, but contenting themselves with merely the addition of bread and water ; excepting the Maronite, who drank a little wine, and eat an egg ; but would not refresh himself with meat as we did*^a.

It is true, this extreme lowness of living in these Armenian ecclesiastics was owing to superstition, but a secret hatred to their conquerors might produce a like effect, and dispose the strangers that dwelt in Judæa, or in the neighbouring countries, to treat their Jewish superiors, when they journied among them, in much the same manner, when they thought they could give vent to their ill-nature with safety : feeding them with water-cresses, with dandelion, with powdered summer savory mixed with salt, or even with salading without salt, oil, or vinegar, instead

^a Voy. de la Terre-Sainte, p. 98.

of killing for them a calf, a kid, or a lamb. With such humble repasts, it should seem Solomon would have his servants and men of war *occasionally* content themselves, if they could not obtain better accommodations with peace; rather than strive by bitter contention and violence to procure better cheer, though by that means they might, possibly, gain some delicacy. How humane the royal instruction to his people, in that time of national prosperity! It at once did honour to his government, and his religion, which forbade the vexing and oppressing strangers¹.

If this is the true explanation of this passage, it was not understood with exactness by the *authors*, or at least the *correctors* of the vulgar Latin translation, for they understood² the words to refer to the being *invited* to a repast by their neighbours and countrymen, and consequently have lost what, I apprehend, may be the peculiar force of the precept: but Protestants believe neither the infallibility of Sixtus V, nor Clement VIII.

The account of Dr. Shaw, that they were wont to reserve some part of what was provided for them, by those that received them over-night, for their *breakfast or dinner the next day*, may perhaps afford the simplest, and

¹ Exod. 22. 21, ch. 23. 9. Lev. 19. 33, 34, &c.

² Melius est *vocari* ad olera cum charitate, quam ad vitulum saginatum cum odio, are the words of that translation.

at the same time the happiest explanation of the term *ἐπιβίωσις*, made use of in the prayer our Lord taught his disciples.

The learned know what tiresome, and, after all, unsatisfactory accounts have been given of this word, rendered by our translators *daily*, "Give us day by day our daily bread." The word has sometimes been translated by those *great swelling*, and perhaps unmeaning, *words of vanity*¹, supersubstantial and superessential bread²; but as *βίωσις* signifies, in the New Testament, what a man has to live upon³, nothing can be more natural, than to understand the compound word *ἐπιβίωσις*, of that *additional* supply that was wanted, to complete the provision necessary for a day's eating, over and above what they had in their then possession.

The apostles lived at that time very often on what, humanly speaking, were very precarious supplies, derived from the liberality of those that received them from time to time, perhaps from day to day, into their houses, somewhat like the situation of Dr. Shaw and his companions, when he travelled in *Barbary*: "Take," said Jesus, "nothing for your journey, neither staves, nor scrip, neither bread, neither money; neither have two coats apiece. And whatsoever house ye enter into there abide, and thence

¹ 2. Pet. 2. 18.

² Vide Wolfium in Luc. 11. 3.

³ Luke 15. 12, 13.

“ depart. . . . And they departed, and *went*
“ *through the towns*, preaching the Gospel,
“ and healing *every where*,” Luke ix. 3.

Much the same are the orders they received in the next chapter¹; after which, in the 11th, follows St. Luke’s account of that model of prayer our Lord taught his disciples, in which, as there are other clauses particularly suiting their then circumstances, there is this also, “ Give us day by day our daily bread,” or that additional supply of bread wanted from time to time to make up, in conjunction with what they might at any time have in hand, a sufficiency of food for their returning wants : a very proper supplication for their devotions in that very unsettled state, and agreeable to the modern customs of the East, which allow them not to dismiss a traveller, who goes without money, without a *viaticum*, or a quantity of provisions sufficient for present support.

The form given by St. Matthew agrees with that of St. Luke in substance, but has a few small variations. Among the rest, instead of recommending to them to beg for the requisite addition to their food from day to day, he teaches them to pray for the *additional* bread they might want *that very day*, in which, it seems, they had not enough with them for the whole of it, cautioning them, in that early stage of their attendance

¹ Luke 10. 3—11.

upon him, against an improper anxiousness for the morrow, ver. 25, and leading them, from the first, to depend on those unforeseen providential supplies on which they subsisted, after they, at the call of their Master, forsook their worldly occupations to be with him, as witnesses of what he said and did. This is agreeable to what we find is practised in Barbary, where they are wont to give strangers provisions, sufficient to support them the first part of the day on which they leave them, but no farther, referring it to others to supply the wants of the coming evening.

OBSERVATION LXII.

The demanding provisions with roughness and severity by such as travel under the direction of government, or authorised by government to do it, is at this day so practised in the East, as greatly to illustrate some other passages of Scripture.

When the Baron de Tott was sent, in 1767, to the *Cham of the Tartars*, by the French ministry, as resident of France with that Tartar prince, he had a mikmandar, or conductor, given him by the pacha of *Kotchim*, upon his entering the Turkish territories, whose business it was to precede and prepare the way for him, as is usually done in those countries to ambassadors, and such as travel gratis, at the expence of the Port, or Turkish court,

court¹. This conductor, whose name, it seems, was *Ali Aga*, made great use of his *whip*, when he came among the poor *Greeks of Moldavia*, to induce them to furnish out that assistance, and *those provisions* he wanted for the Baron²; for though it was represented as travelling at the expence of the Port, it was really at the expence of the inhabitants of those towns or villages to which he came. The Baron appears to have been greatly hurt by that mode of procedure, with those poor peasants, and would rather have procured what he wanted with his money, which he thought would be sufficiently efficacious, if the *commands* of the mikmandar should not be sufficient without the *whip*.

The Baron's account of the success of his efforts is a very droll one, which he has enlivened by throwing it into the form of dialogues between himself and the Greeks, and *Ali Aga* and those peasants, in which he has imitated the broken language the Greeks made use of, pretending not to understand Turkish, in order to make it more mirthful.

It would be much too long for these papers, and quite unnecessary for my design, to transcribe these dialogues; it is sufficient to say, that after the jealousy of the poor oppressed Greeks of their being to be pillaged, or more heavily loaded with demands by the Turks, had prevented their voluntary supplying

¹ Memoirs, vol 1, part 2, p. 10, &c. ² P. 15, &c.

the Baron for his money, Ali Aga undertook the business, and upon the Moldavian's pretending not to understand the Turkish language, he *knocked him down with his fist*, and kept *kicking him* while he was rising. Which brought him to complain in *good Turkish* of his beating him so, when he knew very well they were poor people, who were often in want of necessaries, and whose princes scarcely left them the air they breathed. "Pshaw! thou art joking, friend," was the reply of *Ali Aga*; "thou art in want of nothing, except of being well basted a little oftener; but all in good time. Proceed we to business. I must instantly have two sheep, a dozen of fowls, a dozen of pigeons, fifty pounds of bread, four oques^{*} of butter, with salt, pepper, nutmeg, cinnamon, lemons, wines, salad, and good oil of olives, all in great plenty." With tears the Moldavian replied, "I have already told you that we are poor creatures, without so much as bread to eat. Where must we get cinnamon?" The whip, it seems, was taken from under his habit, and the Moldavian beaten till he could bear it no longer, but was forced to fly, finding Ali Aga inexorable, and that these provisions *must* be produced; and, in fact, we are told, the quarter of an hour was not expired, within which time Ali Aga required that these things should

* A Turkish weight of about forty-two ounces.

be produced, and affirmed to the Baron that they would be brought, before the primate, (or chief of the Moldavians of that town, who had been so severely handled,) assisted by three of his countrymen, brought all the provisions, without forgetting the cinnamon.

May not this account be supposed to illustrate that passage of *Nehemiah*, ch. v. 15?

“ The former governors that had been before me, were chargeable unto the people, and had taken of them bread and wine, besides forty shekels of silver; yea, even their servants bare rule over the people: but so did not I, because of the fear of God.”

It is evident something *oppressive* is meant. And that it related to the taking *bread* from them, or *eatables in general*, (together with *wine*,) perhaps *sheep, fowls, pigeons, butter, fruit*, and other things, when probably they were *travelling*, or *sojourning* in some place at a distance from home. And that the like imperious and unrighteous demands had, from time to time, been made upon them by the *servants* of these governors, whom they might have occasion to send about the country.

I cannot account for the setting down the precise number of *forty*, when speaking of shekels, but by supposing, that the word *besides* here, should have been translated *afterwards*, which it more commonly, if not more certainly, signifies, and means, that afterwards they were wont to commute this demand for provisions

provisions into money, often amounting to forty shekels.

It is certain it could not mean the *whole* annual allowance to the governor by the children of the captivity, that would have been much too small¹; nor could it mean what every householder was to pay annually towards the governor's support, for fifty shekels was as much as each *mighty man of wealth* was assessed at by Menahem, when he wanted to raise a large sum of money for the king of Assyria², and when Israel was not in so low a state as in the time of Nehemiah: it must then, surely! mean the value of that quantity of eatables and wine they might charge any *town* with, when single towns were charged with the support of the governor's table, for a single repast, or a single day, which it is natural to suppose could only be when they thought fit to travel from place to place. This, it seems, their servants took the liberty too to require, when they were sent on a journey. And if they that belonged to the officers of the king of Persia, enforced their requisitions in a manner similar to that made use of by the people belonging to the Turkish governors of provinces, when they travel on a public account among the *Greeks of Moldavia*, it is no wonder that Nehemiah observes with emotion, in this passage, "Yea, even their servants bare rule over

¹ Something less than 5l. sterling. ² 2 Kings 15. 20.

" the

“ the people : but so did not I, because of
“ the fear of God.”

Whether the preceding governors of the children of the captivity were all Jews, or not, is a matter not easily, perhaps, to be determined, but it is apparent, from a passage of the book of Nehemiah, that they were not all of them zealous for the welfare of that people, and consequently might be ready to adopt the oppressive managements of other governors of the Persian provinces, and suffer their under officers to do it. The passage I refer to is, ch. ii. 10, “ When *Sanballat the Horonite*, and *Tobiah the servant, the Ammonite*, heard of it, it grieved them exceedingly that there was come a man to seek the welfare of the children of Israel.”

It may not be amiss to add, that *Noldius* has observed¹, that *Aben-Ezra*, a very celebrated Jewish rabbi, supposed it was a different word that was made use of in his copy of the book of Nehemiah, and that the same reading appears in the *Babylonian Gemara*, which different word *Aben-Ezra* apprehended meant, that these governors took from the people forty shekels of silver for the expence of one repast.

Such *commutations*, or money given instead

¹ Concord. in voc. Achar. Achad is the word *Aben-Ezra* read, (resh and daleth being often changed one for the other, as being letters very much resembling each other,) but I should prefer the common reading.

of provisions, may be met with, I think, in the accounts travellers have given of the managements of the East; certainly they have often taken place among the copyhold tenants of our manors.

The supplying the people belonging to government with their *provisions on particular occasions*, is also what is meant, I apprehend, by the prophet Amos, ch. v. 11,—"Forasmuch as your treading is upon the poor, and ye take from him *burdens of wheat*; ye have built houses of hewn stone, but ye shall not dwell in them, &c."

The Bishop of Waterford has translated the original word *gift*, not burden, but as *wheat* is not wont to be demanded for those that travel on account of government, but *bread*, ("fifty pounds of bread," said Ali Aga to the poor *Moldavian*, when he brought him by the force of blows to supply his demands;) so neither do I remember ever to have observed, in that variety of things that are made presents of in the East, that quantities of wheat were offered to great men: I should rather be disposed to believe that the translation of the Septuagint is more exact than our's, where the words of the prophet are rendred *δοτὰ ἐκλεκτὰ*, (*choice gifts*, such as the *cinnamon* of Ali Aga,) as the words of Amos may be understood to mean a gift of something *costly* and of a select kind, such as *cinnamon*, for instance, not to be procured without plunging them into difficulties, and consequently be very

very oppressive; whereas a moderate quantity of wheat must have been as easy to them to part with as many other things, whether presented in order to obtain some favour, or demanded as a due by those that were travelling on behalf of government.

So Sir John Chardin, speaking of the universal custom through the East of making presents to the great, says, that "every thing is received, even by the greatest lords of the country, fruit, pullets, a *lamb*. Every one gives what is most at hand, and has a *relation to his profession*: and those who have no particular profession give money. It is an honour to receive presents of this sort. They receive them in public: and even choose to do it when they have the most company. This custom universally obtains through the East; and it is perhaps one of the most ancient in the world."

If presents were made according to people's professions, a quantity of wheat from one in the farming way of life was not improper; nor was a stone of flour, or even a bushel of wheat, a more *oppressive* gift to expect or demand than a *fat lamb*. In one word, if the requisition of *wheat* was really the thing that was complained of as oppressive, it must be the greatness of the quantity, not it's being wheat.

OBSERVATION LXIII.

When the father-in-law of the Levite, whose melancholy history is given us in the 19th of Judges, was persuading him to stay another night, he told him that it was *pitching* time of the day¹, according to our marginal translation, that is, the time when travellers were wont to pitch their tents, for their lodging under them all night, and therefore highly improper then to *begin* a journey. This is very justly rendered in the body of our version, as to the sense, though not as to the turn of the original words—"The day groweth to an "end:" for, in the latter part of the afternoon, Eastern travellers begin to look out for a proper place in which to pass the night.

So it is said, in the preface to Dr. Shaw's Travels, "Our constant practice was, to rise "at break of day, set forward with the sun, "and travel 'till the *middle of the afternoon*; "at which time we began to *look out* for the "encampments of the Arabs; who, to prevent such parties as our's from living at "free charges upon them, take care to pitch "in woods, valleys, or places the least conspicuous²."

It might, very probably, be hardly so late as the father-in-law would have had the Le-

¹ Ver. 9.² P. 17.

vite suppose ; but certainly too late to set out on a journey of some length, when other people were near looking out for a place where they might commodiously terminate the travelling of that day ; and where safe and agreeable lodging-places were not always to be found.

The term *pitching*, which refers to tents, is made use of, though it is evident the Levite had no tent with him ; because many then actually travelled with tents ; and others that had none, required at least as much time to find out an agreeable resting-place. *Pitching-time* then was *some time before sun-set*, when every body thought of preparing for their rest¹.

When Dr. Shaw, however, travelled after this manner—setting out with the sun, and continuing his journeying 'till the middle of the afternoon, it is probable it was in the more temperate part of the year ; at other times they frequently find themselves obliged to travel in the night, and pitch their tents in the forenoon : the event then which the sacred writer has recorded, relating to the Levite, seems to have fallen out in such a time of the year, and not during the *summer heats*, for in that case, the observing that the day drew towards a close, was no just reason to induce him to stay 'till the morning. Accordingly it seems to have been in the *spring* : for Israel assembled to battle against Benjamin,

¹ Judges 19. 14, 16.

presently *after the harvest* was got in ; and after the few of Benjamin that survived had continued *four months* in the rock Rimmon, the *leaves were yet upon the vines* ¹.

I would only add farther, that it is not to be supposed, that the Levite here ever attempted to set out *fasting* : the comforting his heart, which his father-in-law referred to, was the taking a more *strengthening repast* than the slight breakfast he had eaten early in the morning. What that was we are not told ; but the author of the History of the Revolt of Ali Bey, has told us what is the *common breakfast* the *Arab villagers* of the Holy-Land are now wont to give to travellers ; for speaking of the necessity of spending one night on the road, between Joppa and Azotus or *Ashdod*, he says, “ The resting-place is at a *village* “ which lies on the left hand, about thirty “ yards out of the road ; from whence, after “ breakfast, which usually is on *milk*, or *bread* “ and *cheese*, and *coffee*, and a *pipe of tobacco*, “ if he be fond of smoking, he proceeds on “ his journey ².” The coffee and tobacco belong to modern times, but the other articles very probably were presented by the man of Bethlehem-Judah to his son-in-law the Levite.

¹ As appears pretty plain from Judges 21. 20, 21.

² P. 198.

OBSERVATION LXIV.

Before this Levite, and those with him, could reach Gibeah, the sun went down, it should seem, upon him, yet he found no difficulty as to entering into that city; and he had been some time in it's street before an old man came out of the field, from his work: probably then they did not shut their gates so soon as the going down of the sun, if all night long.

A very ingenious gentleman supposes this last was the fact, as in those hot countries we find they frequently travel in the night, and sometimes arrive at midnight at the place of their destination¹. To which he added, that he did not remember to have met with any account of travellers finding the gates of a town shut, except in one single case, which is that of *Thevenot*, who could not get admittance into Suez in the night, and complains of the disagreeableness of being forced to wait some hours in the cold air, without the walls, mentioned by me in the first vol. of *Obs.* ch. v, obs. 24.

I would here therefore observe, in consequence of this remark, that as the Scriptures suppose the gates of their walled towns were shut, especially in dangerous times, as we learn

¹ See Luke 11. 5, and also Mark 13. 35.

from Neh. vii. 3, "I said unto them, Let not the gates of Jerusalem be opened until the sun be hot; and while they stand by, let them shut the doors, and bar them;" so we find that what happened to Thevenot, at Suez, is not the only proof that they still continue to shut the gates of their towns through the night, at least in times of danger.

Thus *Doubdan*, returning from the river Jordan to Jerusalem, in the year of our Lord 1652, tells us, *that when he and his companions arrived in the valley of Jehosaphat, they were much surprised to find that the gates of the city were shut, which obliged them to lodge on the ground at the door of the sepulchre of the blessed virgin, to wait for the return of day, along with more than a thousand other people, who were obliged to continue there the rest of the night, as well as they.*

At length, about four o'clock, seeing every body making for the city, they also set forward, with the design of entering by St. Stephen's gate, but they found it shut, and above two thousand people, who were there in waiting, without knowing the cause of all this. At first they thought it might be too early, and that it was not customary to open so soon; but an hour after a report was spread that the inhabitants had shut their gates, because the peasants of the country about had formed a design of pillaging the city in the absence of the governor and of his guards, and that as soon as he should arrive the gates would

would be opened. *A little after another report was spread, &c.*¹. Here we find the gates were shut, and continued to be shut against them, but it was owing to some alarm, which afterwards appeared to be a violent disturbance raised in Jerusalem out of spite to the Christians. The *shutting of the gates* of Jerusalem, did not appear to them to be extraordinary; but the refusing to let them in, when the return of the pilgrims could not but be expected about that time. Nehemiah also was in a state of alarm, when he gave such strict orders concerning the gates of Jerusalem; as were also the people of Jericho, who shut their gates immediately after their messengers were sent out of the city².

But the gates of Suez were shut all night in a *time of peace*: and so Rauwolff found the gate of Tripoli shut, when there was no particular alarm, about an hour after sun-set, when he arrived at it³, which was opened to him through the interest of the European merchants of that city.

The real state of things seems to be, that many of their caravanserais are without the walls of their cities; that many private families reside in unwalled towns, to whom their friends may repair *at midnight*, without difficulty: and that as to towns with gates and bars, which are shut up all night, they

¹ P. 318, 319.
Trav. part 1, p. 19.

² Josh. 2. 7.

³ Ray's

usually take care, so to regulate their times of journeying, as to get there before their gates are shut, or not 'till they are opened, or on the point of being so.

OBSERVATION LXV.

As we read the book of Tobit, it may possibly seem very strange to us, and by no means consonant to the customs of the East, that when his son Tobias and his angelic, but disguised companion came to Ecbatane, to the house of Raguel, Sarah, Raguel's daughter, should be represented as meeting them, and, after *saluting* them, as bringing them into the house, who appeared to her to be *perfect strangers*. Tobit vii. 1.

But perhaps this may be removed, and the book might be written by one that lived in the East, and was acquainted with the customs there, if we consider, that though they appeared to be quite *strangers*, yet they were somehow understood to be Jews', for Raguel immediately calls them *brethren*, v. 3; and though the Turkish women are now kept, with great care, out of sight, the ancient Jewish females

* Either by their language, or by their different dress. The Jews that inhabit Media, and it's neighbouring provinces, are distinguished now by turbants or bonnets of a different colour from those of other religious professions, and other marks, mentioned by Chardin, tom. 2, p. 307.

had more liberty, and even have to this day, in these countries.

When Dr. Chandler first landed in Asia, he was received by a Jew, who had connexions with the English nation, and carried to his house, where he was agreeably received and entertained, and, among other circumstances, he tells us, that the daughter of this Jew saluted him, by gently *kissing his hand*.

The daughter of Raguel might then be supposed to have treated these strange Jews in the same manner, though the term that is made use of is by no means so determinate, and only expresses that she *saluted them with affectionate pleasure*.

Perhaps Jacob's kissing Rachel, at their first interview², is to be understood after the same manner; but I much question whether the kisses of the harlot, mentioned Prov. vii. 13, are to be supposed to have been equally modest.

OBSERVATION LXVI.

The caravanserais of the East, in which travellers lodge, differ, it should seem, from those in which the merchants reside for a considerable time, in that these last have *doors* to

¹ *Exasperation.*

² Gen. 29. 11.

their several chambers or rooms, which the others have not¹, in which case, it must be particularly base to take advantage of such an *unguarded* situation, and of those that sojourn in them, namely strangers, perhaps even *fel-low-travellers*.

To circumstances of this nature then I should suppose it is, that the *son of Sirach* refers, when he says, "Be ashamed . . . of theft, in regard of the *place* where thou *so-journeest*, and in regard of the truth of God and his covenant²."

All *theft* is iniquitous, and consequently shameful; but it may be attended with circumstances of aggravation: a truth which all feel. It is mentioned as an alleviation of the crimes of a celebrated free-booter in the reign of Richard Ist³, that though he robbed the rich, he was kind and generous to the *poor*; so those that rob at a *fire* are detested as the worst of villains, because of the distress of such a time, and the inability of the sufferers to guard entirely against such depredations.

It is of this *comparative* kind of shamefulness that this ancient Jewish writer is evidently speaking, and in particular of theft in a *place of sojourning*. Which seems to be explained by the nature of the present Eastern caravanserais.

To guard against this, *Niebuhr* tells us, that

¹ Voy. de Chardin, tome I, p. 147, 148.

² Ecclesiasticus 41. 17, 19. ³ Robin Hood.

in Arabia, where the houses for lodging travellers are called *simferas*, and sometimes *manfales*, in the evening the door, and there is only one, is shut, and in some places notice is given in the morning, before it is opened, that travellers may examine whether they have lost any thing ¹.

In the *simferas* of Arabia nothing is to be had, in common, but *coffee*, *rice*, *bread*, and *butter* ². This *coffee* is explained by a preceding page to be nothing but a preparation from the husks that inclose the coffee berries; and the *bread* is said to be made of *durra*, which is a sort of coarse millet; along with *camel's milk* or *butter* ³. This kind of *milk* is said there to be *ropy*, for if the finger is taken out of it, after having been dipped into it, it draws out in a long thread. But in one of these *manfales*, when the master of it understood that they were *Europeans*, he would have killed a sheep for them, if they would have stayed, and actually caused *wheaten* bread to be made for them, and *cow's milk* to be brought, when he perceived they were not accustomed to *camel's milk* ⁴.

The caravanferais of Persia have, it is said, better accommodations oftentimes, their keepers commonly selling to travellers what is wanted for the horses, and what is most wanted for themselves, as bread, wine, (in those

¹ Voy. tome 1, p. 314.
² P. 250.

³ In the same page.

⁴ In the same page.

places where it is plentiful,) butter, garden-stuff, fruit, fowls, and fewel. As for butcher's meat, they must fetch it from some neighbouring village, or the encampments of those that feed the flocks and herds of the adjoining country¹.

Such well-furnished resting-places appear to have been known in Judæa, in the time of our Lord, since he supposes the good Samaritan committed the poor wounded man to the care of the host, or keeper of the caravanserai, and promised at his return to pay him for whatever things his state required, and that the keeper should furnish him with, Luke x. 34, 35. This could not be a place like some of the Eastern caravanserais², in which nothing is to be found but *bare walls*.

OBSERVATION LXVII.

There is a great deal of difference in these countries, between the several nations that inhabit them, with respect to the readiness of *communicating of their provisions* to their fellow-travellers: the *Arabs* are very communicative; the *Turks* of a more sour and close disposition.

I have somewhere met with a place, in our

¹ Voy. de Chardin, tome 1, p. 148.

² Or rather Turkish *kanes*, of many of which M. Maundrell gives this description, p. 2.

books of travels, where the writer was struck with the liberality of a poor muleteer or camel-driver, who with all chearfulness made an offer of some of his bread and dates to those with whom he travelled, though the quantity that he had with him was very moderate; while some rich Turks were very careful to take their repast in concealment and silence.

I cannot now point out the place, but I well remember, that as this was the substance of the account, so the writer was greatly struck with the friendliness and liberality of the poor fellow; while he could not forbear expressing his feelings of dislike, of the contracted and unsociable behaviour, and penuriousness of the others.

This is precisely, I should imagine, what the author of Ecclesiasticus had in view, when, after having spoken of *thievishness in travellers* as a just ground of shame, he goes on to add, “and to lean with thine elbow upon the meat,” or “on the loaves of bread,” Ecclus. xli. 19. For he had been speaking immediately before of travellers; what follows then may be naturally supposed to be nearly related to them, as certainly the first clause of the next verse has a very intimate connexion with people in that situation: Be ashamed—“of silence before them that salute thee.”

The *attitude* in which the son of Sirach represents the man he is pointing out, is exactly descriptive of a traveller dismounted from his camel, his horse, or his ass, and sitting

sitting upon the ground, *leaning with his elbow on his saddle, and so covering with his large sleeve the provisions he had in his lap, and eating his morsel alone, without the least notice of those about him.*

The leaning with the elbow on the saddle is precisely the posture in which the Baron de Tott represents Ali Aga, his conductor, as sitting when dismounted, not eating indeed, but waiting for his supper¹; but might as well be represented as the posture of one taking his repast, especially if of an unfociable turn.

We have an instance of this exchange of food in *travelling*, in the account Irwin has given of his passing through the deserts of Upper Ægypt². There, he tells us, *The captain of the robbers* (he means the wild Arabs) *made them a present of a bag of flour, which he understood they wanted; and, when he would not accept a pecuniary return, they sent him half the rice they had, which proved a new and acceptable food to him.*

Such an intercourse appears amiable, while the contrary management is what this Jewish writer thinks may well occasion shame. At least this is, I think, the most natural interpretation of this clause.

¹ Mem. tome 2, p. 19.

² P. 322.

OBSERVATION LXVIII.

The learned have been greatly divided¹ in their opinions, concerning the true meaning of the particle *ἔως*, in John iv. 6, which is rendered *thus* in our version: "Jesus therefore being wearied with his journey, sat *thus* on the well: and it was about the *fixth* hour," which every body knows with the Jews meant *noon*. But an attention to the usages of the East, and of antiquity, might, I should think, ascertain it's meaning with a good deal of exactness.

Our version of the word (*thus*) gives no determinate idea. We know, on the contrary, what is meant by the translation of a celebrated writer², who renders the word by the English term *immediately*, but that translation, I think, by no means the happiest he has given us. It conveys the idea of *extreme weariness*: but nothing in the after part of the narration leads to such an interpretation; nor can I conceive, for what imaginable purpose the circumstance of his *immediate* throwing himself down near the well, before the woman came up, and which, consequently, it is to be supposed she knew nothing

¹ If any should doubt the truth of this fact, they may be abundantly satisfied by the collections of the learned Wolfius, of Hamburg, upon this verse.

² See Doddridge's Exp.

of, is mentioned by the Evangelist. Not to say that the passage cited in proof of this interpretation, (Acts xx. 11,) which instead of *so he departed*, he thought signified the immediateness of his departure, by no means gives satisfaction. It is not so expressed in his own translation of that passage¹, nor does it appear so to signify.

The simple meaning, I should apprehend, of the particle is, that *Jesus, being wearied with his journey, sat down by the well*, like a person so wearied, as to design to take some repose and refreshment there: to which St. John adds, *it was about the sixth hour*. If this is just, the translation should have been something like this: *Jesus therefore being wearied with his journey, sat down accordingly, (or like such an one,) by the well. It was about the sixth hour.*

The particle certainly expresses *conformity* to an account to be given after; so John xxi. 1, “Jesus shewed himself again to his disciples at the sea of Tiberias; and *on this wise* shewed he himself,” referring to the account about to be given. And sometimes it signifies *conformity* to an account that had been *before* given: so, John xi. 47, 48,

¹ Candor, however, here obliges me to observe, that great liveliness of thought and recollection, joined with great diligence, could not be imagined to be sufficient to preserve from such inaccuracies as these, more especially in a person honoured indeed, but oppressed, with a vast variety of cares.

“What

“What do we? for this man doth many miracles. If we let him *thus* alone,” (after this manner doing many miracles,) “all men will believe on him.” So ch. viii. 59, “Then took they up stones to cast at him: but Jesus hid himself, and went out of the temple, going through the midst of them, and *so* passed by”—passed by, by hiding himself after this manner.

After this latter manner it is to be understood, I should think, here—Jesus being wearied with his journey, *sat down like a weary person* by the side of the well, and in that attitude the woman found him, preparing, it should seem, to take some repose and some repast. The disciples, it is said, ver. 8, were “gone away unto the city to buy meat;” but it doth not at all follow from thence that they all went, nor is it so probable that they did, leaving him alone; but that, on the contrary, some of them stayed with him, making such preparations as indicated a design in them to eat bread there.

I think I have elsewhere shown, from the reports of those that have visited these countries, that it is usual for them to stop to take their repasts in their journeying *near water*, and under the *shade* of trees, rocks, or something that may afford them shelter from the injuries of the air. Our Lord with his disciples seem to have had the same intention, and applied to this woman for water, of which, in those circumstances, she must

must have been sensible they stood in great need; and had our Lord offered to purchase it, it doth not appear that she would have been surpris'd, for water was frequently propos'd to be purchased in those hot countries anciently¹; and it appears, from ver. 8, there was nothing extraordinary in the dealing of the Jews with the Samaritans, *as to buying and selling*: what astonish'd her was our Lord's *asking for water as a favour*.

It was indeed no more than had often been ask'd by, and granted to, strangers: what one, in particular, had done aforetime, who dwelt in the land of *Canaan*, and ask'd the favour of a *Syrian* damsel to give him and his attendants drink, Gen. xxiv. 14 and 18, where there was no expressing surpris'e at it on either side. Nothing more than what has been done to strangers by the women of those countries in later times². But there were no such *friendly*

¹ Numb. 20. 19.

² So Haynes tells us, that arriving at Nazareth, the latter end of December, about five in the evening, p. 133, 134, upon entering "the town, we saw two women filling their pitchers with water, at the fountain I have already described, and about twelve others waiting for the same purpose; whom we desired to pour some into a trough which stood hard by, that our horses might drink. We had scarce made the request, before they instantly complied, and filled the trough, and the others waited with the greatest patience." Upon returning their thanks, "one of them with very great modesty replied," "We consider kindness and hospitality to strangers, as an essential part of our duty." P. 144.

dealings, in common, between the Jews and the Samaritans.

Their dealing with each other, as to buying and selling, unless where peculiar bigotry and ill-nature prevailed¹, will show that the Jews might, in a peaceful state of things, without being *much incommoded*, pass through Samaria in their way to or from the Temple, in which country, though not a very broad one, they must have had continual occasion to take their repasts, and to lodge also, in their passing through it, especially if they did not travel with greater expedition, in that part of their journey, than Joseph and Mary are supposed to have done, in the first part of their return from Jerusalem to Galilee, Luke ii. 44².

Wolfius has remarked, very justly, and I think some others³, that the Greek word *ἐν* doth not necessarily signify *on*—that our Lord sat *on the building belonging to the well*: either a circular low wall about it, like those

¹ Luke 9. 52, 53.

² *They went*, the Evangelist tells us, *a day's journey, before they sought the child Jesus, who they supposed was in the company with some of their relations or acquaintance*: now M. Maundrell assures us, that according to tradition, it was at Beer that they sought him, and that a church was built there, in memory of this circumstance, by the devout empress Helena, p. 64; but Beer, according to Maundrell, was only 3½ hours from Jerusalem, p. 66, or about ten miles: a day's journey then, in those circumstances, was only ten miles, but Samaria, though a narrow country, was much broader than that.

³ Wolfius on the place.

used in country towns among us, as painters and carvers seem to have understood it ; or on a more magnificent erection over so celebrated a well, as that of which the patriarch Jacob and his family had been wont to drink. It has been used for sitting not *on* but *near* a river, and so, according to modern Eastern usages, it is most natural to understand it here, of sitting in a commodious place *near* that well.

Whether the disciples had cords and a small leather bucket with them to draw with, which the Samaritanes did not remark ; or whether the disciples were to procure proper implements in the city, which they were afterwards to return, or at least leave at the well for the use of it's owner, who would soon have occasion to go thither¹ ; or whether they trusted to a favourable accident, as travelling people were very frequently coming to so celebrated a well ; doth not appear. None of the conjectures are *highly* improbable.

The time indeed when they wanted this assistance was not the *usual hour of drawing water* by the inhabitants, though a common time for travellers to stop and take their repast. But it is to be remembered, when

¹ Thus Dr. Chandler, somewhere in his *Travels in the Lesser Asia*, speaks of a goat's skin with the hair on made use of as a bucket, which was distended by a piece of wood to which the rope was fixed, and which was left at a well by a benevolent peasant, (who had before drawn water for them from thence,) for their use while he was absent.

we find an inhabitant coming for water, that it was winter-time¹, and consequently we may believe water might then be drawn at any time—at noon, as well as in the morning or evening, though these earlier and later seasons seem to have been those that were mostly made use of even in winter. Thus when Haynes travelled from Cana to Nazareth, in the depth of winter, for it was about the end of December, he found *many* women assembled at a fountain, to draw water, at five in the afternoon, p. 144 compared with p. 131 and 134.

The coming then of the woman of Samaria to draw water, just at noon, doth not look as though our Lord was fatigued with the *heat*, as well as the length of the way, as some have conjectured. The air in those countries, it is acknowledged, is frequently considerably warm in the middle of the day, in the depth of winter; but had it been so then, the woman would hardly have gone to the well *at noon* for water: she would, most probably, have stayed 'till the usual time—the evening, or fetched it in the morning.

That travellers frequently *stop at noon*, in order to take some refreshment, is evident from a remark made by Plaistead: in giving an account of his traversing the mighty desert between Busserah and Aleppo, he tells us, p. 81, *that the caravan with which he travelled*

¹ See ver. 35, of this 4th of John.

did not stop to dine, as many caravans do, but travelled thirteen hours together. Many Eastern travellers stop to dine, though some do not. No wonder our Lord then, who seems to have been a-foot, and wearied with the length of his walk, stopped near so inviting a well.

A considerable time after I had finished this article, I had the pleasure to find, the very learned and accurate Bishop *Pearce* had made a similar observation on the meaning of the word *σῶς*, in his commentary and notes on the Acts of the Apostles¹.

OBSERVATION LXIX.

Though it must, one would think, be much more commodious to carry water in skins or leather-bottles, where water must be carried, and accordingly, such we find are generally made use of in the East in travelling; yet, whatever the cause may be, they sometimes content themselves with *earthen jars*.

Thus we find, in the beginning of Dr. Chandler's expeditions, in search of the antiquities of these countries, though he was equipped under the direction of a Jew of *that country*, of such eminence as to act as the British consul at the Dardanells, and was attended at first by him, *yet the vessel in which*

¹ On chap. 20, ver. 11.

their water was to be carried, was an earthen jar, which not only served them in the wherry in which they coasted some of the nearer parts of Asia Minor, but was carried upon the ass of a poor peasant, along with other luggage, when they made an excursion from the sea-side up into the country, to visit the great ruin at Troas¹.

This may serve to remove our wonder that Gideon should be able to collect three hundred water-jars from among ten thousand men², for we have no reason to suppose, the method he was to make use of, to surprise the Midianites, was not suggested to him before he dismissed all his army to the three hundred. In an army of ten thousand Israelitish peasants, collected together on a sudden, there might be many goat-skin vessels for water, but many might have nothing better than earthen jars, since Dr. Chandler appears not to have been better equipped, at least at first; and three hundred water-jars, collected from the whole army, were sufficient to answer the views of divine Providence.

OBSERVATION LXX.

The margin of our translation remarks, that the word rendered *harnessed*, in Exodus xiii. 18, signifies *by five*, but when it adds *five in a rank*, it seems to limit the sense of

¹ P. 25.

² Judges 7. 3, 16, 19, 20.

the term very unnecessarily, as it may as well signify *five men in a company*, or their cattle tied one to another *in strings of five each*.

If there were 600,000 footmen, *besides* children, and a mixed multitude, together with cattle, the marching of five only abreast, supposing only one yard for each rank to move in, would make the whole length of this enormous file of people more than 68 miles¹. If we should suppose two such columns, and place the children, mixed multitude, and cattle between them, the length then of this body of people would be above 34 miles. At the same time we cannot conceive any reason for such a narrow front, on the one hand, in such a *wide* desert; nor, on the other, why they are described as marching five abreast, if there were many such columns. It would seem, in such a case, to be a circumstance that required no particular notice.

Pitts tells us, *that the Algerine armies, when they march, go only two abreast, and that at the same time each rank keeps at a considerable distance, so that a thousand men make a great shew, and a very long*

¹ For 600,000 divided by 5 gives 120,000 ranks of five each, and there being only 1760 yards in a mile, the dividing 120,000 by 1760 will give the number of miles such a column of people would take up, which by such an operation will be found to be something more than 68 miles, which the circumstances of the history will not easily admit of.

*train*¹. They have their reasons for so doing: they want to appear as numerous as possible.

For a like reason, it should seem, the *Indians of North-America* walked singly, and with great gravity, I apprehend slowly is meant, when they went in form, according to the honourable Mr. *Colden*², on a warlike expedition.

Moses had no such reasons; on the contrary it must have been of importance to him; to draw the van and the rear nearer together, and consequently to make the breadth of this vast body of people considerably large.

Pitts tells us, that in the march of the Mohammedan pilgrims from *Ægypt*, through this very desert, *they travel with their camels tied four in a parcel, one after the other, like so many teams*³. He says also, *that usually three or four of the pilgrims diet together*⁴.

If we will allow that like circumstances naturally produce like effects, it will appear highly probable, that the meaning of the word used in this passage of Exodus is, that they went up out of *Ægypt* with their cattle, *in strings of five each*; or that Moses ordered that *five men with their families* should form each a little company, that should keep together, and assist each other, in this difficult march. In either of these senses we may understand the term, in all the other places

¹ Account of the Rel. and Manners of the Mahometans, p. 30.

² History of the five Indian Nations of Canada, p. 7.

³ P. 149.

⁴ P. 153.

in which it appears¹; whereas it is not natural to suppose they all went out of Ægypt *properly armed for war*, and it is idle to say, as some have done, that they were *girded about the loins*, that is always supposed to be done by the Eastern people when they journey. Not to say that the kindred word continually signifies five, and this word should in course signify that they were, somehow or other, *formed into fives*—companies of five *men* each, or companies that had each five *beasts*, which carried their provisions and other necessaries, fastened to each other.

OBSERVATION LXXI.

The situation of Babylon, on the river Euphrates, must have made caufeyns necessary to those that had occasion to go thither, or come from thence, as marks set up must have been very requisite to those that had to pass through the deserts, that laid between Chaldæa and Palæstine: to both which conveniences Isaiah seems to refer, as well as to some other circumstances attending Eastern travelling, in that passage in which he pro-

¹ The other places are, Josh. i. 14, ch. 4. 12, Judges 7. 11. The Algerines have 20 soldiers to a tent, but we know, from other passages, Moses divided them into tens, Exod. 18. 21, 25; for neighbourhood he might divide them into fives.

phetically describes the return of Israel from Babylon.

The passage I mean is in the close of the 62d chapter : “ Go through, go through the gates ; prepare you the way of the people, cast up, cast up the highway ; gather out the stones ; lift up a standard for the people—Behold the Lord hath proclaimed unto the end of the world, Say you to the daughter of Zion, Behold, thy salvation cometh.”

Irwin, speaking of his passing through the deserts on the eastern side of the Nile, in his going from Upper Ægypt to Cairo, tells us¹, that after leaving a certain valley which he mentions, their road lay “ over level ground. “ As it would be next to an impossibility to find the way over these *stony* flats, where the heavy foot of a camel leaves no impression, the different bands of robbers” (wild Arabs he means, who frequent that desert,) “ have *heaped up stones*, at unequal distances, for their direction through this desert. We have derived great assistance from the robbers in this respect, who are our guides when the marks either fail, or are unintelligible to us.” After which he remarks, that if it be considered, that this road to Cairo is seldom trodden, it is no wonder that those persons they had with them, as

¹ P. 316.

conductors, were frequently at a loss to determine their way through this desert.

The learned know very well, that there were many great deserts in various parts of the East, and in particular a great desert between Babylon and Judæa; and as Judæa was, in the time of the captivity, an abandoned country, at least as to a great part of it, and the road through that desert might have been much neglected, is it not reasonable to suppose, that the piling up heaps of stones might actually be of considerable importance, to facilitate the return of Israel into their own country? And if not, is it not natural to suppose the difficulties in the way of their return might be represented by the want of such works? And consequently that that clause should be rendered, not *gather out the stones*, but *throw ye up heaps of stones*, that you may be directed in your march through the most difficult and dangerous places where you are to pass.

It is certain the word that is used here is, confessedly, in every other place but one (Is. v. 2.) used to signify the throwing stones at a person, after which they were wont to cover them with a heap of them, as a memorial of what was done, (see particularly the account of the punishment of Achan, Josh. vii. 25, 26;) now it must appear somewhat strange, that the same word should signify gathering stones up in order to *take them away*,
and

and also, on the contrary, to *cover over* a person or a spot with them, thrown up on an heap. And especially when the *stoning* the ways, that is, *pouring down heaps of stone*, at proper distances, to direct travellers in danger of mistaking their way, is so natural a thought in this passage; while we find few or no traces of the gathering stones out of an Eastern road, to make journeying more pleasant to the traveller.

The other passage, in the 5th Isaiah, may be understood in something of the same manner, even if we take the first word to signify *fencing*, as our translators do, which nevertheless is very uncertain: "He fenced it," (his vineyard;) "and stoned it," (that is, piled up stones, in form of a wall, instead of sun-dried bricks, which soon moulder away;) "and planted it with the choicest vine."

The Septuagint however, I must acknowledge, translates neither of these passages in the manner that seems most natural to me, though their translation was made in Ægypt, in the wild part of which country, towards the Red-Sea, these heaps of stone are now found. But it is to be remembered, that they lived under a more settled form of government, which made travelling through that part of the desert where these stones are now found *unnecessary*. Their way of travelling in Ægypt being almost entirely upon the Nile, and it's numerous canals, or where the country was filled with people: this circumstance

stance then might not occur to these translators, especially as there is no occasion, to this day, of such assistances in the desert between Ægypt and the Jewish country, through which these translators might only have had occasion to pass.

The same writer has taken notice, in his travels, of the *banks* thrown up in Ægypt, on which the overflowing of the Nile obliges them to pass; which must in like manner have been necessary in the marshes about Babylon, to the fenny nature of which country the Psalmist refers, when he says, "By the *rivers* of Babylon, there we sat down, — We hanged our harps upon the *willows*, in the midst thereof." To these Isaiah appears to refer, in these words, "Cast up, cast up the highway;" or, as the Bishop of London translates it, "Cast ye up the causey."

Irwin also takes notice of it's having been customary to *light up fires on the mountains*, within view of Cosire, (a town on the Red-Sea, in which he then was,) to give notice of the approach of the caravans that came from the Nile to Cosire, though that custom was suspended, when he was there, on the account of the wild Arabs, who had been for some time roving about in that neighbourhood, and who, it was feared, would have made a bad use of such signals'. These notices are of

' P. 139.

use on various accounts, and particularly to meet caravans with assistance.

It is to some similar management, I presume, Isaiah refers in this place, where he speaks of the lifting up a standard, or as the original word is of a much more general signification, and is used for *any sign*¹, "Lift up a sign above the nations," (upon the tops of their hills,) announcing the approach of the captivity of Israel, returning to their own country, that they may meet them with refreshments², and such assistances as may help them forward in their way to the land of their forefathers.

How lively the *comparing* the benefits derived from the edict of Cyrus, giving liberty and encouragement to Israel to return to the land of their ancestors, to the making causeys through marshy countries, piling up heaps of stone in unfrequented deserts, and meeting travellers with refreshments, and every other assistance that they might want.

The first clause, "Go through, go through the gates," seems to refer to the custom of the East for travellers to assemble together, in some place *out of the city*, in order to get ready for journeying together in company, which I have elsewhere taken notice of³, and therefore need not to repeat it here.

¹ See Numb 26. 10; and perhaps it directly signifies fire, used as a sign, Is. 31. 9.

² Deut. 23. 4.

³ Vol. 1, ch. 5, obs. 6.

C H A P. VI.

*Of the Eastern Modes of honouring the Living
and the Dead.*

OBSERVATION LXXII.

A Learned, as well as an ingenious and lively commentator, supposes¹, that the salutation our Lord refers to, Matt. v. 47, “If ye salute your brethren *only*, what do you more than others? do not even the publicans so?” means *embracing*, though it is a different word, I would observe, that is made use of in the *Septuagint* to express that action of endearment², and which is made use of by an *apocryphal* writer³; whereas the word we translate *salute* is of a much more general nature: this, I apprehend, arose from his being struck with the thought, that it could never be necessary to caution his disciples, not to restrain the *civilities of a common salutation* to those of their own religious party.

Juvenal, when he satirizes the Jews of the apostolic age for their religious opinions, and represents them as unfriendly, and even male-

¹ Dr. Doddridge, Family Expositor, on that place.

² Περὶ λαμβάνω, Gen. 29. 13. 1 Kings 4. 16 Cant. 2. 6.

³ Eccles. 30. 19.

volent to other people¹; and when he mentions their refusing to show travellers the way, or to point out to them where they might find water to drink when thirsty with journeying, takes no notice of their not saluting those of another nation; yet there is reason to believe, from these words of Christ, that many of them at least would not, and that even a Jewish publican received no salutations from one of his own nation, excepting brother publicans.

Nor shall we wonder at this, or think it requisite to suppose the word we translate *salute* (*Ἀσπάζουαι*), and which certainly, sometimes at least, signifies nothing more than making use of some *friendly words* upon meeting with people², must here signify something more particular, since we find some of the present inhabitants of the East seem to want this admonition of our Lord.

“When the Arabs salute one another,” according to Niebuhr, “it is generally in these terms: *Salâm aleikum, Peace be with you*, in speaking which words, they lay the right hand on the heart. The answer is, *Aleikum essalâm, With you be peace*. Aged people are inclined to add to these words, *And the mercy and blessing of God*. The Mahometans of Ægypt and Syria *never salute* a Christian

¹ Sat. 14. Non monstrare vias, &c.

² Ecclesiasticus 41. 20, strongly determines this: “Be ashamed—of *silence* before them that salute thee.”

“ in this manner ; they content themselves
 “ with saying to them, *Good day to you* ; or,
 “ *Friend, how do you do ?* The Arabs of
 “ *Yemen*, who seldom see any Christians, are
 “ not so zealous but that sometimes they
 “ will give them the *Salâm aleikum*.”

Presently after he says, “ For a long time
 “ I thought the Mahometan custom of sa-
 “ luting Christians, in a different manner from
 “ that made use of to those of their own
 “ profession, was an effect of their pride, and
 “ religious bigotry. I saluted them some-
 “ times with the *Salâm aleikum*, and I had
 “ often only the common answer. At length
 “ I observed in *Natolia*, that the Christians
 “ themselves might probably be the cause,
 “ that Mahometans did not make the same
 “ return to their civilities that they did to
 “ those of their own religion. For the Greek
 “ merchants, with whom I travelled in that
 “ country, did not seem pleased with my sa-
 “ luting Mahometans in the Mahometan
 “ manner. And when they were not known
 “ to be Christians, by those Turks whom
 “ they met with in their journeying, (it being
 “ allowed Christian travellers, in those pro-
 “ vinces, to wear a *white turban* ¹, that ban-
 “ ditti might take them at a distance for
 “ Turks, and people of courage,) they never

¹ Christians, in common, being obliged to wear the
 sash of their turbans *white striped with blue*. Russell's
 Description of Aleppo, p. 95.

“ answered

“ answered those that addressed them with
“ the compliment of *Salám aleikum*.

“ One would not, perhaps, suspect that si-
“ milar customs obtain, in our times, among
“ *Europeans* : but I find, that the Roman
“ Catholics, of some provinces of Germany,
“ never address the Protestants that live
“ among them with the compliment, Jesus
“ Christ be praised ; and when such a thing
“ happens by mistake, the Protestants do not
“ return it after the manner in use among
“ Catholics, *For ever and ever, Amen* !”

After this, the words of our Lord in the
close of the 5th of Matthew want no farther
commentary. The Jews, it should seem,
would not address the usual compliment of
Peace be to you to either heathens, or pub-
licans ; the publicans of the Jewish nation
would use it to *their countrymen* that were pub-
licans, but not to heathens, though the more
rigid Jews would not do it to them any more
than to heathens : our Lord required his dis-
ciples to lay aside the moroseness of Jews, and
express more extensive benevolence in their sa-
lutations. There seems to be nothing of *em-
bracing* thought of in this case, though that,
doubtless, was practised *anciently* among rela-
tions and intimate friends, as it is among
modern Asiatics.

When then the son of Sirach speaks of
“ silence before them that *salute* thee,” ch. xli.

* Descript. de l'Arabie, p. 43, 44.

20, as a just ground of *shame*, he cannot be understood to mean silence with regard to the salutations of those of *another nation*, for this was rather thought to be honourable among the old Jews, a proper expression of rough and inflexible virtue, and a paying a due attention to the prerogatives of the Jewish nation; it must be understood of not returning the salutations of *their own countrymen*, of such non-compliance with the forms of civility in use among those of their nation, he thought they ought to be ashamed.

Elisha's enjoining Gehazi not to salute any that he met, or to return the salutation of such, evidently expresses the haste he would have him make to recover the child and bring him back to life'. For the salutations of the East oftentimes take up a *long time*.

" The manner of salutation, as now practised by the people of Ægypt, is not less ancient. The ordinary way of saluting people, when at a distance, is bringing the hand down to the knees, and then carrying it to the stomach. Marking their devotedness to a person by holding down the hand; as they do their affection by their after raising it up to the heart. When they come close together afterwards, they take each other by the hand in token of

^a 2 Kings 4. 29. " Gird up thy loins, and take my staff in thine hand, and go thy way: if thou meet any man, salute him not; and if any salute thee, answer him not again," &c.

" friendship.

“ friendship. What is very pleasant, is to
“ see the country-people reciprocally clap-
“ ping each other’s hands very smartly, *twenty*
“ *or thirty times together*, in meeting, without
“ saying any thing more than *Salamat aicbe*
“ *balcom* ; that is to say, *How do you do? I*
“ *wish you good health*. If this form of compli-
“ menting must be acknowledged to be simple,
“ it must be admitted to be very affectionate.
“ Perhaps it marks out a better disposition
“ of heart, than all the studied phrases which
“ are in use among us, and which politeness
“ almost always makes use of at the expence
“ of sincerity. After this first compliment
“ many other friendly questions are asked,
“ about the health of the family, mention-
“ ing each of the children distinctly, whose
“ names they know, &c, &c¹.”

If the forms of salutation among the ancient Jewish peasants, took up as much time as those of the modern Ægyptians that belong to that rank of life, it is no wonder the prophet commanded his servant to abstain from saluting those he might meet with, when sent to recover the child of the Shunamites to life : they that have attributed this order to haste have done right ; but they ought to have shown the *tedioufness of Eastern compliments*.

But I very much question whether this was the cause of our Lord’s forbidding the Seventy to salute, when he sent them forth to preach

¹ Maillet, Descript. de l’Egypte, let. 11, p. 137, 138.

the Gospel, Luke x. 4, " Carry neither purse, " nor scrip, nor shoes, and *salute no man by " the way.*" Was the not making use of shoes expressive of greater expedition in travelling? I should rather suppose that either it signifies not saluting any in their journey, in the same sense as David saluted Nabal, 1 Sam. xxv. 5, 6, 14¹, when he applied to him for some refreshment in the wilderness, leaving it to them to whom they preached to *invite* them to their houses, from first to last, in this journey; or else that it was, somehow or other, a part of that *meannefs* in which they were to appear, not to salute those they met.

Niebuhr tells us a story that is rather remarkable, relating to salutations among the Arabs of the desert of Mount Sinai: he says, *that a woman who was on foot* (and should therefore seem to be a person in low life) *meeting him in a strait passage in the valley of Génne, she sat down by the side of the way, turning her back 'till they were past, but as he wished this woman peace, (which is their form of saluting,) and his Arab guides perceived by that he was not acquainted with their customs, they informed him that it was out of respect to*

¹ " David sent out ten young men, and David said to " the young men . . . go to Nabal, and greet him in my " name;" after which we are informed that Abigail, Nabal's wife, was told by a servant, " David sent messengers " out of the wilderness to *salute* our master, and he railed " on them."

*strangers that she had turned her back, and that, according to their usages, he should not have saluted her at all*¹.

His saluting her was, it seems, contrary to their usages, on what account is not perfectly clear: if it was on account of a supposed great disproportion of rank, our Lord might command them to assume this among other expressions of meanness, in opposition to those appearances of *wordly grandeur* the Jews expected to see, whenever the kingdom of God came—the kingdom of the Messiah².

OBSERVATION LXXIII.

It is undoubtedly true, that the alighting from a beast on which one is riding, is, and was anciently, a mark of great respect. I have found proofs of it since the publication of the two first volumes, with respect to late times; and the 43d obs. of ch. vi, contains evidences of this usage in ancient times, which cannot, I apprehend, be controverted: the case however of *Achshab* I now believe is to be differently understood. Of these matters some account ought here to be given.

We met a *Turk*, says Dr. Richard Chandler in his *Asiatic Travels*³, “a person of distinction, as appeared from his turban. He was on horseback with a single attendant. Our janizary and Armenians respect-

¹ Voy. tome 1, p. 192.

² Luke 10. 11.

³ P. 200.

“ fully alighted, and made him a profound
 “ obeisance, the former kissing the rim of
 “ his garment.”

So Niebuhr tells us, that at Káhira (Grand Cairo) “ the Jews and Christians who, it
 “ may be, alighted at first through fear or
 “ respect, when a Mahometan with a great
 “ train on horseback met them, are now
 “ *obliged* to pay this compliment to above
 “ thirty of the principal people of that city.
 “ When these appear in public, they always
 “ cause a domestic to go before to give notice
 “ to the Jews and Greeks, and even the
 “ Europeans that they meet with, to get off
 “ their asses as soon as possible, and they
 “ are qualified, on occasion, to force them
 “ with a great club, which they always carry
 “ in their hands’.”

The fact is certain, but, probably, is not applicable to the case of Achsah. Our translators suppose that like *Abigail* she alighted from her ass, when she preferred her request to *Caleb* her father, begging for the addition of some springs of water to her portion; but it is a quite different word, never used but in reciting her story, excepting once in the book of Judges, where it is used to express Jael’s *fastening* one of the pins of her tent in the ground, after having driven it through Sisera’s temples². The word then should seem to signify her continuing upon

¹ Description de l’Arabie, p. 39.

² Ch. 4, ver. 21.
the

the afs *standing still, as if fastened to the ground.* This would naturally occasion *Caleb* to enquire into the reason of this stop in the marriage-procession, and brought on an explanation, which terminated in her obtaining what she desired.

Both the *Septuagint* and the *vulgar Latin* suppose she continued sitting on the afs, but the first supposes she *cried* to her father for this favour¹; the second, that she *sighed*²: but the original mentions neither, nor do either appear necessary. The mere stopping in so solemn a cavalcade as this, which seems to have been the conveying her with pomp to *Othniel's* house, as his bride, must have been sufficient to occasion the enquiry.

OBSERVATION LXXIV.

The present female way of expressing joy in the East, by gently applying *one* of their hands to their mouths, seems to have obtained in the times of remote antiquity, and to be meant in several places of Scripture.

What their present custom is, appears in the following passage of *Pitts*, describing the joy with which the leaders of their *sacred* caravans are received, in the several towns of *Barbary* through which they pass: "This *Emmir Hagge*, into whatsoever town he

¹ ΕΡΩΤΕΙ ΙΝ ΤΗ ΟΥΔ.

² Cum suspirasset sedens in asino.

“ comes, is received with a *great deal of joy*,
 “ because he is going about so religious a
 “ work ; and it is, who can have the favour,
 “ and honour of kissing *his hand*, or but *his*
 “ *garment* ! He goes attended in much pomp,
 “ with flags, kettle-drums, &c, and loud
 “ acclamations do, as it were, rend the skies ;
 “ nay, the *very women* get upon the tops of
 “ the houses to view the parade, or fine show,
 “ *where they keep striking their four fingers on*
 “ *their lips softly, as fast as they can, making*
 “ *a joyful noise all the while, which sounds*
 “ *somewhat like yow, yow, yow, hundreds of*
 “ *times*’.” Others have given us nearly the
 same account.

This seems to me to be referred to in some passages of Scripture ; and that the sacred writers suppose two different methods of expressing joy by a quick motion of the hand, which is lost in our translation : for I suppose the clapping of the *hands* in the plural, is a very distinct thing from the clapping the *hand* in the singular, though our translators have confounded them together.

The striking one hand against the other with some smartness, which we mean by the term clapping of the hands, might, and I believe did, obtain anciently, as an expression of joy ; not unfrequently, if not always, of the malignant kind : so the prophet Jeremiah

* Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mahometans, 4th ed. p. 85.

faith of Jerusalem, when it was destroyed,
 " All that pass by, *clap their hands* at thee ;
 " they hiss and wag their head at the daughter of Jerusalem, saying, Is this the city that men call the perfection of beauty, the joy of the whole earth ?" Lam. ii. 15. In like manner Job, after describing the sudden destruction of the wicked, says, " Men shall *clap their hands at him*, and hiss him out of his place," Job xxvii. 23.

But other words, which our version translates *clapping the hands*, signify *the applying only one hand* somewhere *with softness*, as a testimony, in common, of a joy of a more agreeable kind. They that consult the original will find the singular, not the plural, is made use of Ps. xlvii. 1, " O clap your hands (your hand) all ye people, shout unto God with the voice of triumph ;" and in like manner, 2 Kings xi. 12, " He brought forth the king's son, and put the crown upon him, and gave him the testimony; and they made him king, and anointed him; and clapt their hands, (but in the original they clapt the hand,) and said, God save the king."

We use the term clap, but sometimes, where the word hand is used in the singular number, it is joined with a verb that *strongly* expresses an applying the hand with *softness*, wherever it is that we suppose the hand, in such cases, is applied, and consequently the term *clap* should not be the word made use of, it may

be, in translating these passages, at least without a softening epithet. So Is. lv. 12, "The mountains and the hills shall break forth into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap (or gently apply) the hand," not their hands¹. For the word is used for blotting out what is written in a book, by applying water to it, Numb. v. 23, which is wont to be done with a sponge, or some other soft substance; and for compassionately wiping away tears from the face, Is. xxv. 8: and consequently must signify, one would imagine, a gentle application of the hand somewhere, and therefore *probably to the mouth*, according to the present Eastern mode, among the women, of testifying joy.

OBSERVATION LXXV.

An *umbrella* is a very ancient, as well as *honourable* defence against the pernicious effects of the scorching beams of the sun, in those sultry countries: may we not then suppose, this is that *kind of shade* the Psalmist refers to in the 121st Psalm²? "The Lord is thy keeper: the Lord is *thy shade on thy right hand*. The sun shall not smite thee by day; nor the moon by night."

¹ The same word is used Ps. 98. 8, and hand in the singular number; and both these observations are, in like manner, applicable to Ezek. 25. 6, where indeed the joy was not of that placid kind, which the expression commonly imports.

² Ver. 5.

Niebuhr, who visited the southern part of Arabia, gives us the following account of a solemn procession of the *Imam* that resides at *Sanà*, who is a great prince in that part of Arabia, and considered as an holy personage, being descended from Mohammed their great prophet. "It is well known, that the Sultan at Constantinople goes every Friday to the mosque, if his health will at all admit of it. The Imam of *Sanà* observes also this religious practice, with vast pomp. We only saw him in his return, because this was represented to us as the most curious part of the solemnity, on account of the long circuit he then takes, and the great number of his attendants, after their having performed their devotions in other mosques. . . . The *Imam* was preceded by some hundreds of soldiers. He, and each of the princes of his numerous family, caused a *mdalla*, or large umbrella, to be carried by his side, and it is a privilege which, in this country, is appropriated to princes of the blood¹, just as the Sultan at Constantinople permits none but his vizir to have his *kaik*, or gondola, covered behind, to keep him from the heat of the

¹ The sacred day of all Mohammedans.

² So at p. 305, he tells us, he saw a young prince at *Sanà*, who had been dispossessed of some territories enjoyed by his father and grandfather, who had his *umbrella* carried at his side, as he went on horseback to the mosque, one Friday.

"sun.

“ sun. They say that in the other provinces of *Yemen*, the independent lords, such for example as the Sheiks of *Jafâ*, and those of *Hafchid u Bekil*; the Scherif of *Abu Arifch*, and many others, cause these *mdallas* in like manner to be carried for their use, as a mark of their independence. Besides the princes, the Imam had in his train at least 600 lords of the most distinguished rank, as well ecclesiastics as seculars, and those of the military line, many of them mounted on superb horses, and a great multitude of people attended him on foot. On each side of the Imam was carried a *flag*, different from our’s, in that each of them was surmounted with a little silver vessel like a *cenfer*¹. It is said that within some charms were put, to which they attributed a power of making the Imam invincible. Many other standards were unfurled with the same *cenfer*-like vessels, but without any regularity. In one word, the whole train was numerous, and in some measure magnificent, but no order seemingly was observed².

It appears by the carvings at *Persepolis*, *umbrellas* were very anciently used by the Eastern princes; *charms*, we have reason to believe, were at least as ancient: may we not, with some degree of probability, suppose then

¹ Une petite caffolette d’argent.
 P. 337.

² Voy. tome I,

this 121st Psalm refers to these *umbrellas*, where the *response* made, it should seem, by the *ministers of the sanctuary*, to the declaration of the king, in the two first verses, reminded him that Jehovah would be to him all that heathen princes hoped for, as to defence and honour, from their royal umbrellas and their sacred charms, but hoped for in vain, as to them? *The Lord shall be thy shade on thy right hand. The sun shall not smite thee by day; nor the moon by night.*

OBSERVATION LXXVI.

Though when I published the two volumes of Observations on divers Passages of Scripture, I had not met with any account, in our modern travellers into the East, of bells made use of there to adorn or to animate their *horses*, to which our version supposes the prophet Zechariah refers, ch. xiv. 20, but had found they were frequently worn by their camels¹; yet I have since met with a passage, in a lately published volume of Travels into the East, which shows the *southern Arabs* make use of them as a *matter of magnificence*, on solemn occasions.

“ The finest breed of *Arabian horses* is in this country, and has furnished us with those we make use of for the turf; they

¹ Vol. 1, ch. 5, obs. 22.

“ are

“ are here chiefly articles of luxury, used
 “ only in war, or for parade: the governor
 “ has a large stud opposite to the house where
 “ I live, which affords me much pleasure, as
 “ I pay them frequent visits; they are small,
 “ but finely shaped, and extremely active.
 “ Of this I had an opportunity of judging
 “ yesterday, when the cavalry had a field-day
 “ in the great square, which, from the mode
 “ of exercise, called to my mind the idea of
 “ our ancient tilts and tournaments. . . .
 “ The horses were *sumptuously caparisoned*,
 “ being adorned with gold and silver trap-
 “ pings, *bells hung round their necks*, and rich
 “ housings; the riders were in handsome
 “ Turkish dresses, with white turbans, and
 “ the whole formed to me a new and pleasing
 “ spectacle’.”

OBSERVATION LXXVII.

The feathers of herons and ostriches are
 now used, in these countries of the East, by
 way of ornament, and more especially in
 times of rejoicing; it is reasonable to be-
 lieve the same obtained anciently, and perhaps
 as far back as the time of Job.

The Turks, who, according to *Baron de
 Tott*, make pomp the characteristic of their

* Major Rooke's Travels to the coast of Arabia Felix,
 p. 82, 83. That 6th letter is dated from Mocha.

nation¹, make great use of these two sorts of feathers in days of parade. Thus this writer, in describing what answers among them to the solemnity of a coronation, tells us, *that one set of officers, who appeared in that procession, wore an ostrich's feather on the side of their turbans*²; and *that the led horses of the Grand Seignior were covered with very rich trappings trailing on the ground, leaving nothing to be seen but the head of the animal, of which the front was ornamented by a large plume of heron-feathers*³. *Attendants of another description are said to have worn plumes of feathers shaped like a fan, above which towered those the Grand Seignior himself bore.*

De Tott has not told us what kind of feathers these last were, but other authors have informed us, that they are those of *herons* that the Turkish emperor himself wears in his turban, at least upon other solemn occasions. So when *Thevenot* saw him riding in state, upon occasion of the coming of an ambassador to him from the *Great Mogul*, he wore in his cap *two black heron's tops*, adorned with large stones, above two fingers high; the one stood upright, and the other pointed downwards⁴.

Such great use is made of *ostrich-feathers*, that *Maillet* makes it an article of commerce, in the account he gives of what is imported into

¹ *Memoirs*, part 1, p. 235.

² P. 119.

³ P. 121, 122.

⁴ *Travels*, part 1, book 1, ch. 57.

Ægypt by the caravan from *Nubia*¹, which brings with it the merchandise of *Æthiopia*. “One can hardly believe,” he says, “the riches it contains. From divers parts of Africa it brings hither gold-dust, elephants teeth, ebony, musk, civet, ambergris, *of-trich-feathers*, several kinds of gum, and an infinity of other valuable merchandize. But it’s most considerable commerce consists of two or three thousand blacks, which the caravan brings to sell in Ægypt, each of which, taking them one with another, is not worth less to his master than 200 livres².”

*Heron*s feathers, however, are not a discriminating mark of royalty, and confined to the heads of princes and of their horses; *Thevenot* saw them on the head of the *new Basha of Ægypt* when he made his entry into Grand Cairo, “He wore a chiaoux cap, with two black heron’s tops standing upright upon it³.” But they are, I think, only worn in times of prosperity. At least *Thevenot* remarks, that when his predecessor quitted that government, and departed in a solemn procession, “he wore on his head a chiaoux cap, but *without an heron’s top*⁴.”

As feathers are made use of among the

¹ Let. 13, p. 197.

² About eight guineas. There is a mistake here certainly: perhaps there should have been another cypher.

³ Part 1, book 2, ch. 23.

⁴ Ch. 15.

Turks, so they are used we find among the modern Arabs too. When *de la Roque* put himself into the dress of an Arab of figure, he had an *ostrich-feather* near the top of his lance¹; and when the French gentlemen that waited on the king of *Yemen*, on account of the coffee trade, saw the procession that attended him to his public devotions, on the sacred day of the Mohammedans, they observed fifty horses, richly caparisoned, were led in view of the way in which he was to pass, and as many camels perfectly well equipped, which had on their heads large tufts of black ostrich-feathers. This was all for parade, and to do honour to the sacred day, for they were only led before him, and several times round the place where he performed his devotions, and put to no other use².

If then the *Arabs* of our days make use of feathers in times of joyful and sacred parade; it is by no means unnatural or difficult to suppose, that the *Arabs* of elder times might do the same, and even the Arabs of the land of *Uz* in the age of *Job*: since they are allowed to be a people that have as much, or more than any, retained their old customs, on the one hand; and since, on the other, the adorning themselves with the most beautiful feathers of the birds of their respective countries, is the common practice of those nations

¹ Voy. dans la Palestine, p. 4.

² Voy. de l'Arabie Heureuse, p. 213.

that

that are the most remote from *our modes* of civilization, and most nearly approach the state of mankind in the first and rudest ages. The way of adorning themselves made use of by many of the wild tribes of America, as well as that of the inhabitants of many of the new-discovered islands of the South Seas, are an uncontrovertible proof of it.

If so, the translation that Aquila has given us, of a clause of a very difficult verse of the book of Job, may be allowed to be sufficiently easy and natural. The verse is the 13th of the 39th chapter, and is thus translated in our version: "*Gavest thou the goodly wings* "unto the peacocks? or wings and feathers "unto the ostrich?" or, according to the marginal translation of the last clause, "the feathers of the stork and ostrich."

Great objections have been made to this translation, and very justly. They are not the wings of the peacock that are remarkably goodly, but the *tail*; nor is it the same Hebrew word elsewhere translated peacocks, but a very different one. It is not then at all probable that *peacocks* were meant here.

Aquila, who has given us an ancient Greek translation of the Old Testament, and who is said to have been exquisitely skilled in the original language, and to have aimed at a very literal version', has thus translated the first clause of this verse Πτερυγίων αινετων συναντα-

* Carpzovii, Crit. Sac. p. 553—560.

πλῆκει, which words may be difficult to translate into English with energy, perspicuity, and conciseness, but seem to mean, *the tuft of feathers which somewhat resembles a wing, and which those that are in a state of joy and thanksgiving wear, pleasingly intermixes its filaments when quivering from the motion given it.*

The Septuagint themselves, who have declined translating the third word, which *Aquila* thought meant interweaving, or something of that kind, translate the two first words Πτερυξ τερπόμενων, “the wing of those that are delighted.” And this is the natural sense of the two first words of the original.

Now what can the *wing*, or *contexture of feathers resembling a wing*, of those that are in a state of *delight*, or of *disposedness to praise*, more naturally mean, than those *tufts of ostrich or heron-feathers* that are now so commonly worn in those countries, when in such a state. To which is to be added, that both those creatures are, I think, with certainty spoken of in the words immediately following: the *chasidah*, (which seems to signify the *heron* as well as the *stork*, comprising both species in that single word of description¹;) in

¹ For the *chasidah* is said, in Ps. 104. 17, *to make the fir-trees her house, as other birds made their nest in the cedars of Lebanon*, which doth not appear to be a just description of the *stork* properly speaking, but truly represents the natural history, in that point, of the *heron*. It may not be

in the latter clause of this 13th verse; and the *ostrich* indisputably in the short history given of this animal in the succeeding verses, and which satisfies me must be meant by the last word of the 13th verse, which the Septuagint leaves untranslated, using the word Νεσσα to express the Hebrew term.

Nor can this be thought an harsh supposition, if we observe that one of the three senses of the Hebrew root, according to Buxtorf, is to *be laid waste*; a noun formed from it then may very naturally signify the bird that is the most remarkable of any, by far, for living in desert and waste places¹.

I may add, that the celebrated Dr. Shaw, who supposes that the first clause speaks of the wing of the ostrich, not of the wing of those that rejoiced, yet understands the last word of the three of that first clause not as

amiss to add, that it appears, by the collections of Lambert Bos on the Septuagint, that Olympiodorus observed that *Aquila* always understood the *chafida* to mean the heron rather than the stork, as some unskilful people supposed. But the two species resemble each other so much, that it is not improbable, but that one Hebrew word stood for both. De Tott, among others, observes, that the *stork* feeds on serpents, builds its nest *on the houses*, and is revered by the Orientals, part 2, p. 42. Doubdan however supposes that *storks* in Palæstine roost on trees. See a succeeding article.

¹ Baron de Tott tells us, that the Arabs call the ostrich daivai-coofhoo, or the camel-bird; if then, besides it's proper name, which according to Dr. Shaw is naamah, p. 449, it is called by a periphrasis the camel-bird, it may as well be described in *sacred poetry* by another—the desert-bird. Mem. of de Tott, part 2, p. 41.

signifying

signifying goodly, as our translators do, but *quivering or expanded*, as the very learned Schultens also doth, which agrees as well with what happens to the *plumes worn on the heads of those that go in solemn joyful procession*, as to what happens to the *wings of an ostrich*, according to the nice and entertaining observations made by Dr. Shaw on the natural history of that bird, for which the learned world is much obliged to him. Nor is *expanded and quivering* very remote from what seems to be the idea of *Aquila*, who appears to mean the intermixing the filaments of the feathers together, by the joyous motions of those that wore them, in times of pleasurable solemnity.

I would finish this article with observing, that the Septuagint translation of the second clause of this verse, makes the first word of it the second person singular of a verb. This only supposes that a single letter happens to be left out in our modern Hebrew copies, which will not appear at all strange to those that are acquainted with the collections of Dr. Kennicott. And if that alteration is admitted, we may understand the words as signifying,

*The plume of those that go in joyful procession
pleasingly quivers :*

*Hast thou reared up (strengthened) the heron
and the ostrich (from whom those feathers
are taken) ?*

If we should be unwilling to suppose the custom so ancient as the days of Job, among the people of the land of Uz, I imagine it will be hardly contested, that it was known to *Aquila*, and the elder translators of the Septuagint version, and that they *supposed* it was probably, at least, as ancient as the time of this celebrated personage of very remote antiquity.

OBSERVATION LXXVIII.

The dancing and playing on instruments of music, before persons of distinction, when they pass near the dwelling-places of such as are engaged in *country business*, still continues in the East.

When the *Baron de Tott* was sent by the *French* government, to inspect the factories of that nation in the Levant, having proceeded from *Ægypt* to the maritime cities of Syria, he went from them to *Aleppo*, and returning from thence to *Alexandretta*, in order to visit Cyprus, and some other places of which he has given an account in his *Memoirs*, he tells us, that between *Aleppo* and *Alexandretta*¹, he saw on a sudden the troops the governor of *Aleppo* had sent with him, to escort him, turn back and ride towards him. “The commander of the detach-

¹ Two well-known cities of Syria.

“ ment

“ment¹ then shewed me the tents of the
“Turcomen, pitched on the banks of the
“lake, near which we were to pass.—It was
“no easy task to keep my company in good
“spirits, within sight of six or seven thousand
“Asiatics, whose peaceable intentions were
“at least doubtful.

“I took care to cover my escort with my
“small troop of Europeans; and we conti-
“nued to march on, in this order, which had
“no very hostile appearance, when we per-
“ceived a motion in the enemy’s camp, from
“which several of the Turcomen advanced
“to meet us; and I soon had the musicians
“of the different hordes, *playing and dancing*
“*before me all the time we were passing by*
“*the side of their camp*².”

The translation does not determine, whether these musicians were of the male or female sex; but I doubt not but that it would appear, on consulting the original French, that they were *women* that played and danced before M. de Tott, the French inspector, while passing along the side of that large encampment.

We cannot after this wonder at the account of the sacred historian³, that when Saul and David were returning from the slaughter of *Goliath*, the great hero of the Philistines,
“the women came out of all the cities of

¹ Consisting of an hundred horsemen.
part 4, p. 131, 132.

³ 1 Sam. 18. 6.

² Memoirs,

“ Israel, singing and dancing, to meet king
 “ Saul, with tabrets, with joy, and with in-
 “ struments of music.” That is, as I ap-
 prehend, the women of the several villages of
 Israel near which he passed, in returning to
 his settled abode, universally paid him the
 honour of singing and playing before him
 for some considerable way, while he passed
 along in the road near to them. All Israel
 were engaged in *rural* employments, as well
 as these Turcomen.

Tott ascribes the honours paid him by these
Asiatics to the hope of a reward: “ I took
 “ leave of them, by presenting them with
 “ that reward, the hope of which had brought
 “ them to attend us, and with which they
 “ were very civil to go away contented¹.” I
 would remark, that the *Eastern princes* some-
 times cause *money to be scattered in processions*
 on joyful occasions, according to this very
 writer²; however the satisfaction that suc-
 ceeded great terror, upon the death of Go-
 liath, was enough to engage the Israelitish
 women universally to pay this honour to
their own king, and an *heroic youth of their*
own nation, who had been the instrument of
 effecting such a great salvation for their coun-
 try, without any lucrative considerations what-
 ever.

¹ P. 132.

² Part 1, p. 123, 124.

OBSERVATION LXXIX.

When Jeremiah speaks of the changing the stillness of desolation, into the voice of joy and gladness, where numerous inhabitants dwell, and mentions, among others, "the voice of the bridegroom, and the voice of the bride," we certainly are not to understand him of the bridegroom, and still less of the bride, *personally* considered; but of their *attendants*. Youthful modesty would lead us to such an interpretation, had the prophet been speaking of these western parts of the world; but the decencies of eastern life absolutely require such an explanation.

"There being nothing very material," says Dr. Russell, "in the ceremonies of the different sects, I shall give the description of a Maronite wedding, which will serve as a specimen of the rest.

"After the bride has been demanded, the relations of the bridegroom are invited to an entertainment at the house of the bride's father, in order to consult with her relations (for the young folks themselves have no vote in such affairs, nor are ever seen) concerning the proper day for celebrating the wedding; and it is almost always agreed on for that day fortnight. On the appointed

Ch. 33. 11.

U 4

" day,

“ day, in the afternoon, they again go to the
 “ bride’s house ; and, having supped there,
 “ return to that of the bridegroom, who hi-
 “ therto has not appeared, though some little
 “ enquiry has been made after him ; for he
 “ is by custom obliged to *hide himself*, or at
 “ least is not to be found without a seemingly
 “ strict search. When he is brought out
 “ dressed in his worst clothes, *great noise and*
 “ *rejoicings* are then made on the finding him ;
 “ and he and the bride’s man, after being
 “ led several times round the court-yard, in
 “ *noisy procession*, are carried into a room,
 “ where their wedding-clothes are laid out in
 “ form. A priest says a long prayer over
 “ them ; and, being dressed, they are led
 “ back into the court-yard with the *same*
 “ *ceremony* as before.

“ At midnight, or a few hours later, the
 “ relations, accompanied by all that have
 “ been invited to the wedding, men and
 “ women, return once more to the house
 “ where the bride is, in procession, each car-
 “ rying a candle, and *music* playing before
 “ them. When they come to the door, it is
 “ shut upon them ; and when they knock
 “ and demand the bride, they are refused
 “ admittance. Upon this ensues a mock fight,
 “ but the bridegroom’s party always prevails.
 “ The women then go to the bride’s cham-
 “ ber, lead her out veiled quite over, and in
 “ the *like* procession carry her to the bride-
 “ groom’s ; but not more than one or two
 “ of

“ of her sisters, or nearest female relations,
“ must accompany her. She is there set
“ down at the upper-end of the room among
“ the women, continues veiled with a red
“ gauze, and must sit like a statue, neither
“ moving *nor speaking on any account*, except
“ rising to every person that comes into the
“ room, which is notified to her by one of
“ the women who sits by her constantly, for
“ she must not open her eyes. The rest
“ of the night is spent by each sex in their
“ separate apartments in *noisy mirth*, eating
“ fruits and sweetmeats, there being no want
“ of wine and arrack. Some few retire to
“ rest.

“ The next day, about nine in the morning,
“ the bishop or priest comes to perform the
“ ceremony.—The ceremony being finish-
“ ed, the bridegroom, and all the men, re-
“ tire again to their proper apartment, where
“ they drink coffee, and sit very gravely while
“ the bishop remains, which is not long ;
“ for dinner being served up immediately
“ for him, and a few select people of the
“ company, he soon dines, and takes his
“ leave ; and he is scarcely gone a few yards
“ from the house, before their *noisy mirth*
“ begins. Great quantities of victuals are
“ dressed, and several tables covered, both
“ for dinner and supper ; and there is usually
“ a profusion of tobacco, coffee, wine, and
“ arrack.

“ About

“ About eleven or twelve at night, the
 “ bridegroom is led in procession to the bride’s
 “ chamber, where he presents her with a glass
 “ of wine, in which she drinks to him, and he
 “ returns the compliment: after this he is car-
 “ ried back again with the same ceremony.

“ The *music*, during the whole of the
 “ time, *continues to play*, *buffoons* and other
 “ of their diversions are going forward, and
 “ the house is usually full of company ’till
 “ the next day in the afternoon, when they
 “ take their leave, all but a few intimate
 “ friends, who sup with the bridegroom, and
 “ about midnight leave him heartily fatigued
 “ to retire to the bride’s chamber.

“ All those that have been invited to the
 “ wedding send presents; and, for several days
 “ after the marriage is consummated, quan-
 “ tities of flowers are sent to the bride by
 “ all the women of their acquaintance’.”

OBSERVATION LXXX.

Besides the voice of *domestic* gladness and
 joy on nuptial occasions, instead of the me-
 lancholy silence of desolation, which Jeremiah
 assured them should be heard again in that
 country, and which was to take place not
 only in Jerusalem, but in the other Jewish

’ Descript. of Aleppo, p. 125—129.

cities, the prophet seems to me to assure them there should be a return of seasons of rejoicing on *public* occasions, such as victory over enemies ; as also of the *music and the songs* wont to attend the presenting peace-offerings before God : “ Again there shall be heard in “ this place — the voice of joy and the “ voice of gladness, (the voice of the bride- “ groom and the voice of the bride,) the “ voice of them that shall say, Praise the “ *Lord of Hosts* : for the Lord is good ; for his “ mercy endureth for ever ; and of them that “ shall bring the sacrifice of praise into the “ house of the Lord. Jer. xxxiii. 10, 11.

There is something pleasing in this enumeration of particulars, if we consider them as expressive of rejoicings on *domestic, public, and sacred* occasions.

It is certain that when *Jehosaphat* led forth Judah to *assured victory*, he made use of such a form of praise as we find in the middle of this verse : “ Upon Jehaziel, the son of Zephaniah, &c, came the spirit of the Lord “ in the midst of the congregation : And he “ said, Hearken ye, all Judah, and ye inhabitants of Jerusalem, and thou king “ Jehosaphat, Thus saith the Lord unto you, “ Be not afraid nor dismayed, by reason of “ this great multitude ; for the battle is not “ your’s, but God’s.—And when he (Jehosaphat) had consulted with the people, he “ appointed singers unto the Lord, and that “ should

“ should praise the beauty of holiness”, as
 “ they went out before the army, and to say,
 “ Praise the Lord, for his mercy endureth
 “ for ever.” 2 Chron. xx. 14—21. He and
 his people, after the affair was actually accom-
 plished, assembled together in or near the place
 where their enemies were slaughtered to *praise*
 the Lord, and afterwards went in solemn
 procession to Jerusalem, *with joy* it is said,
 with *psalteries*, and *harps*, and *trumpets*, unto
 the house of the Lord, ver. 26, 27, 28. And
 as no account is given of any new formulary
 of thanksgiving, probably the same was made
 use of as in their first outset: “ Praise the
 “ Lord, for his mercy endureth for ever.”

These sounds of joy and gladness might as
 well be heard in the *other* cities of Judæa,
 as in *Jerusalem*, as well as those accompany-
 ing nuptial solemnities. Jehosaphat seems to
 have passed through the cities of his country
 with *music* and with hymns to Jerusalem. So
 the women went out from their *several cities*
 to meet King Saul, when he returned from the
 slaughter of Goliath, with singing and danc-
 ing, with tabrets, with joy, and instruments
 of music, 1 Sam. xviii. 6. But could the
 third sort, *relating to the bringing the sacrifice*
of praise into the house of the Lord, be heard

¹ The Temple: which God honoured, as the place where
 he was found to be a present help in time of trouble, and
 which holy place was remarkable for it's beauty.

in the cities of Judah as well as in the streets of Jerusalem'?

Such a supposition, I would answer, is not necessary. It was sufficient if the sounds of joy in general were heard from time to time through the country, without supposing that every species of gladness should appear in every town.

However it is not at all *improbable*, that the music and the hymns attending the bringing the sacrifice of praise to the Temple were heard in *other cities*, as well as in the *streets of Jerusalem*, and that the gladness of heart mentioned by Isaiah, *when people went with a pipe, to go into the mountain of the Lord, to the mighty one of Israel*², might be heard in the town *from whence* they set out, and in the cities *through which* they passed, as well as when they entered the holy city.

I do not remember that *Lightfoot* has given any account of music attending them, at any other time when they carried their oblations to the Temple, but when they passed along the streets of *Jerusalem*; but when we consider how common the use of music is now in the East, and what in particular is practised there in their sacred journies, I should suppose music and hymns attended their *setting out* with oblations to the house of God, and that the like sounds of joy and gladness attended them as they passed through their

¹ See ver. 10 of Jer. 33.

² Ch. 30. 29.

towns,

towns, more especially if it was the sacrifice of some more eminent personage, or of some considerable body of people.

So Pitts tells us, that *into whatsoever town of Barbary the caravan for Mecca enters, the leader is received with a great deal of joy, because he is going about so religious a work. He goes attended with flags; kettle-drums, and loud acclamations, do, as it were, rend the skies*¹.

OBSERVATION LXXXI.

The music of great men in civil life, has been sometimes directed to persons of a sacred character, as an *expression of respect*, in the East: perhaps the playing of the minstrel before the prophet Elisha is to be understood, *in part*, at least, in something of the same manner².

When Dr. Richard Chandler was at *Athens*, the Archbishop of that city was *upon ill terms* with it's Vairwode, and the Greeks in general siding with the Vairwode, the Archbishop was obliged to withdraw for a time; but some time after, when Chandler and his fellow-travellers were at Corinth, they were informed *that the Archbishop was returned to Athens; that the Bey or Vairwode had received him kindly, and ordered his musicians to attend him at his*

¹ P. 85.² 2 Kings 3. 11—15.

*palace; and that a complete revolution had happened in his favour*¹.

Here we see a civil magistrate, who had been displeased with a great ecclesiastic, sent his musicians to play at his archiepiscopal palace, in honour of him to whom this magistrate was now reconciled. Elisha might require that a like honour should be done to him, and *through him to the God whom he served*, who had been sadly neglected and affronted in former times by the king of Israel. The propriety of it will appear in a still stronger light, if we should suppose, that Elisha commanded the minstrel to sing, along with his music, an hymn to Jehovah, setting forth his being the God that *gave rain*, that preserved such as were *ready to perish*, the *giver of victory*, and whose power was neither limited to *his temple*, nor to the Jewish country sacred to him, but equally operative in every place.

The coming of the spirit of prophecy upon Elisha, enabling him to declare a speedy copious fall of rain in that neighbourhood, and a complete victory over their enemies, immediately upon the submissive compliance of this idolatrous prince with the requisition of the prophet, and such an hymn in praise of the God of Israel, seems to me full as natural an interpretation, as the supposing he desired the minstrel to come in order to play some

¹ Travels in Greece, p. 244.

soft composing tune, to calm his ruffled spirits, and to qualify him for the reception of the influences of the spirit of prophecy.

Was a warm and pungent zeal against the idolatries of Jehoram a *disqualifying disposition* of soul¹? and if it were, was *mere music* the happiest mode of inviting the divine influences? Yet after this manner, I think, it has been commonly explained².

Singing was, and is so frequently joined with the sound of musical instruments in the East, that I apprehend no one will think it strange, that I suppose the minstrel sung as well as played in the presence of Elisha³; and when it is recollected that their songs are very frequently extemporaneous⁴, it is natural to suppose the prophet required something to be sung, suiting both *his character* and *the occasion*.

OBSERVATION LXXXII.

Though a *throne* and *royal dignity* seem to be *correlates*, or terms that stand in reciprocal

¹ The anger of Elisha, occasioned by the prophane mockery of some unhappy youths, did not prevent his *prophetically* declaring the vengeance of God upon them, which effectually took place, 2 Kings 2. 23, 24.

² See Bishop Patrick on the place.

³ 1 Sam. 18. 6, 7. If. 23. 15, 16. Pl. 98. 5, &c. Shaw, tome 1, part 3, ch. 3, § 4.

⁴ See Observations on Scripture, ch. 5, obs. 7. 2d ed.

relation to each other, yet it should seem that the privilege of *sitting on a throne* has been sometimes granted to those that were not *kings*, particularly to some governors of important provinces.

In the book of *Nehemiah*, in like manner, we read of the *throne of the governor on this side the river*¹—*the throne*, in other words, of the governor for the king of Persia of the provinces belonging to that empire on the west of the *Euphrates*.

So d'Herbelot tells us², that a *Persian* monarch, of after-times³, gave the governor of one of his provinces permission to seat himself in a *gilded chair*, when he administered justice, which distinction was granted him on account of the importance of that post, to which the guarding a pass of great consequence was committed. This province, he tells us, is now called *Schirvan*, but was formerly named *Serir al dhahab*, which signifies, in Arabic, *the throne of gold*. To which he adds, that this privilege was granted to the governor of this province, as being the place through which the northern nations were wont to make their way into Persia; on which account also a mighty rampart or wall was raised there.

¹ Ch. 3. 7. Lyfias was in just such a situation in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, 1 Mac. 3. 32.

² P. 157, art. Bab al Abuab.

³ He lived about 600 years after the birth of our Lord, as Nehemiah lived somewhat more than 400 years before.

May we not, agreeably to this account, suppose that the governor of the provinces on the western side of the Euphrates was looked upon as possessed of a post of the highest consequence, on account of the frequent irruptions of the Ægyptian princes, and distinguished by this privilege of sitting on a throne for that cause, perhaps *gilded*, or otherwise adorned with gold?

And doth not his having a palace at Jerusalem, in which perhaps was such a seat for the administration of justice, mark out the great consequence of Jerusalem, in the estimation of the Persian princes of those times, notwithstanding it's having been so completely ruined, and but slowly emerging out of the heaps of rubbish into which the army of Nebuchadnezzar had reduced it?

OBSERVATION LXXXIII.

The word used for those *martial* ensigns of royal dignity, which were carried before King Solomon, and which our version renders targets, 1 Kings x. 16, were supposed by the Septuagint to signify *spears* or *lances*; and as the word is to be understood to signify some sharp-pointed weapon, it may be more natural to understand it of a lance, than of a defensive piece of armour with a short sharp-pointed umbo in the middle, considering that *shields* of gold were also carried before this prince,

prince, at solemn seasons. One can hardly find a disposition to admit, that two sorts of things, *so much alike* as targets and shields, should be meant here; and if such similar defensative pieces of armour were hardly meant, the translation of the Septuagint is as natural as any, to say nothing of the authority of so ancient a version, in which, so far as appears by Lambert Bos, all the copies, which frequently disagree in other matters, concur.

But whatever we may think of this way of translating the original word, we can hardly suppose such martial ensigns of honour were unknown in the time when this translation was made. It is certain they now appear in the Levant. Thus Windus, in his description of a pompous cavalcade of the emperor of Morocco, tells us, that after several parties of people were passed, "came *Muley Mahomet Lariba*, one of the emperor's sons; he is "alcalde of the stables, or master of the "horse: there attended him a guard of horse "and foot, at the head of which he rode "with a lance in his hand, *the place where "the blade joins to the wood covered with gold*." Soon after which came the emperor himself.

The account of this lance seems to give a clear illustration, of what the Septuagint referred to in their translation of this passage; if not of the original of the Hebrew historian.

¹ P. 152, 153.

A comparatively modern prince in Persia seems to have emulated this piece of grandeur of Solomon, and to have even surpassed it, though by means of a different kind of weapon from either of those I have been mentioning. It seems, according to d'Herbelot, *he had two troops of horsemen, consisting of a thousand each; one troop carrying maces of gold, each of which weighed 1000 drachms, or thousand crowns of gold, the second, maces of silver of the same weight. These two brigades served him for his ordinary guard, and upon extraordinary ceremonies each of these horsemen carried his mace upon his shoulder*. One tenth part of the number would have been extremely majestic.

OBSERVATION LXXXIV.

The arraying in a rich dress, and making to ride in great pomp and ceremony, were, it seems, the ancient mode of investing with the highest degree of *subordinate* power in *Ægypt*, and still remains so, with a *small variation*, which may give occasion to some speculations.

Thus we find when *Pharaoh* gave *Joseph* all power over *Ægypt* under himself, he, among other things, “arrayed him in vestures “ of *fine linen*, ... and he made him to

* *Bibliothèque Orient. art. Jacob ben Laith, p. 467.*

"ride in the second *chariot* which he had ;
 "and they cried before him, Bow the knee :
 "and he made him ruler over all the land of
 "Ægypt." Gen. xli. 42, 43. On the other
 hand, in our times, the History of the Re-
 volt of Ali Bey tells us¹, *that on the election*
of a new Sheik Bellet², the Pasha who ap-
proves of him invests him with a valuable fur,
treats him with sherbet, and when the Sheik
Bellet departs, the Pasha presents him with an
horse, richly caparisoned. He is treated in
 like manner when he waits upon a new
 Pasha : when such a Pasha first comes into
 Ægypt, the Pasha gives him a robe of costly
 fur, and when the Sheik Bellet departs gives
 him an horse richly caparisoned³.

Rich vestments, and riding in great magni-
ficence, were anciently practised ; and still
 take place, as to him that is invested with
 the highest degree of the actual power of
 government, under the pre-eminence of an-
 other, whose power is oftentimes little more
 than honorary and nominal : but here lies
 the difference, which is considerable, and
 deserves some notice ; *Joseph* was arrayed in
fine linen, the modern *Sheik Bellets* in robes
 faced with *costly furs* ; the first rode in the

¹ P. 43.

² The Sheik of the country we are told the word signi-
 fies, who has the actual government of Ægypt, under the
 nominal government of the Pasha, the representative of
 the Grand Seignior.

³ P. 32, 33.

second-best royal *chariot*, the others on horses *richly caparisoned*.

The vestments of fine linen seem to be *cool and airy*, and fit for so warm a climate as *Ægypt*; while *furred robes* seem more suitable to the princes of *Russia* and the *North*, where the *severity* of the winter makes such *warm garments* highly requisite: nevertheless we find they now obtain not only in the *dresses of ceremony* in Europe, but throughout the East too, which seems to intimate, that the knowledge of those *animals* that furnish out the most magnificent furs had not anciently reached these countries; or at least the manner of *preparing them elegantly*. For since these things have been discovered, they have every where prevailed, as requisite to make princely habits magnificent, and the robes of those in considerable, though far inferior stations, sufficiently honourable.

Accordingly not one word of costly furs in the Scriptures: blue, or *purple and fine linen*¹, and habits enriched with *threads or wires of silver and gold*, are the only things mentioned there, relating to the substances that composed their vestments of pomp².

As to magnificent riding, *chariots* are not

¹ Judges 8. 26. Esth. 8. 15. Jer. 10. 9. Luke 16. 19, &c.

² Exod. 39. 3. That royal apparel that Herod Agrippa wore, in the theatre of Cæsarea, when struck with death, was, according to Josephus, of *silver*, vol. 1, p. 950, ed. Hav.

now made use of, either by men, or even the fair sex. It may be difficult to say what this is owing to: whether the difficulty of their roads; or the clumsy and immechanical manner of constructing their *carriages*; or a junction of both causes. Certain it is, that they are not now used in these countries; and the *magnificence of the furniture* of their horses makes up the want of *pompous chariots*. Anciently however chariots were used by the great: they were thought most deadly *machines of war*¹; it was courage in war that in those ruder times gave dignity, and seems to have been chiefly looked at in conferring royal honours; it was natural then for their *kings* to ride in chariots, as their *great warriors* at that time in common did; which *royal chariots* were without doubt most *highly ornamented*. In the most magnificent of all that Pharaoh had, but one, Joseph, it seems, was made to ride. But when chariots were laid aside in war, their princes laid aside the use of them by degrees, and betook themselves to horses, as upon the whole most agreeable, and they endeavoured to transfer the pomp of their chariots to them, and richly indeed they do adorn them.

¹ Joshua 17. 16, 18. Judges 1, 19, ch. 4. 3, &c.

OBSERVATION LXXXV.

The complaint that David made of *Joab* to his son Solomon not long before his death, and which was evidently intended, in general, severely to condemn his conduct, doth not appear to me to have been properly illustrated by commentators, at least by none of those whose explanations are given us in Pool's Synopsis.

The murdering *Abner* and *Amasa* was highly criminal; and the more so as done with treachery, and even hypocrisy: but was it any addition to the heinousness of the offence, that some of their blood happened to be sprinkled on his shoes and his girdle, as they seem to suppose? Would he not have been equally criminal had not a single drop reached him, but all had either fallen on the earth, or stained the raiment of some by-stander?

I am inclined to think, the true sense of this part of the complaint against *Joab* is, that he maintained himself in the generalship of the army, at the expence of shedding the blood of these two eminent and innocent personages.

To make this out, two preliminary remarks are requisite. The first, that that which is procured at the expence of any man's blood, is spoken of in the strong language of the Old Testament as that person's blood; yea, even

if the person lost not his life actually, but only ran a great risque of doing so. The second, that a thing is frequently spoken of as if it were blood, on the account of it's being of the colour of blood, or having some other resemblance of it.

The 2 Sam. xxiii. 16, 17, is a proof of the first position, as Joel ii. 31, is of the second. In Samuel we read, "that the three mighty men brake through the host of the Philistines, and drew water out of the well of Bethlehem, that was by the gate, and took it, and brought it to David: nevertheless he would not drink thereof, but poured it out unto the Lord. And he said, Be it far from me, O Lord, that I should do this: *is not this the blood of the men* that went in jeopardy of their lives? Therefore he would not drink it."—As to Joel, he saith, "The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the *moon into blood*," (into the colour of blood, as it is often seen when darkened in an eclipse,) "before the great and terrible day of the Lord come."

After these preliminaries, if we only suppose the general of Israel was wont to wear *red shoes*, and a girdle of *that colour*, it was natural for an eastern imagination to speak of them as tinged with blood; especially when those habiliments were obtained, or continued to be a man's proper dress, by the means of *shedding of blood*.

Shoes of red leather, I think, are represented by

by the prophet Ezekiel, as worn by a female richly arrayed'; and skins dyed of that colour were known and in use in the time of Moses²: it is then by no means an improbable supposition that such *red shoes* might be worn by Joab, if it was only as a *rich* part of *dress*. It might be more, and express his being one of the *higher officers* of David's army. But if not, if red shoes were only a piece of magnificence common to great people of that time, the *red shoes* of Joab were continued to him through his shedding the blood of Abner and Amasa; if either of them had lived, he would have been dismissed from his generalship, and the habit of affliction, perhaps

¹ Ezek. 16. 10.

² Exod. 25. 5, ch. 26. 14, ch. 35. 7, &c. These two, ram-skins dyed red and badgers-skins, seem to be spoken of as the most precious kinds of leather then used, or commonly known at least. Probably both dyed of the same colour; but if not, if shoes were made of the one for splendor, they might equally of the other. A very learned and ingenious gentleman has made a remark on a passage of a preceding volume, (Obs. vol. 1, ch. 2, obs. 30,) which has some relation to what I am now mentioning, and therefore may here be taken notice of; and that is, that if the dying the tails and the hair of the foreheads of buffaloes red be thought to be ornamental, yet how could the black goats-hair curtains of the tabernacle, under the red ram-skins, improve the appearance, when no longer seen at all? I would answer, certainly they could not, if not seen at all, but according to their notions they might, if a border of black appeared under the red, in the same manner as white under the black in funeral palls.

of poverty, would have succeeded the pomp of *red shoes*, and a *crimson girdle*.

I do not know that people were *forbidden* in the days of David to wear *red shoes*, that supposition is by no means necessary, but it is certain that all the subjects of the modern Turkish empire may not wear just what coloured shoes they please; and the Baron de Tott tells us, that Sultan Mustapha made regulations of this kind the first object of the exertions of his authority, punishing with great violence and barbarity those *Greeks, Armenians, and Jews*, who were found clothed in the colours forbidden those three nations. He adds, "An unfortunate Christian mendicant, who wore an old pair of *yellow slippers*, just given him by a Turk in charity, was stopt by the Grand Seignior; and this excuse could not save his life. Every day produced some new horror¹." It seems, according to a note on this passage by the Baron, that the Turks only are allowed to wear slippers of *yellow leather*.

But though the Turks in civil life wear *yellow slippers*, their janissaries, the principal order of their soldiers, are *obliged to wear red shoes*, which with great blue breeches, and a peculiar kind of bonnet, are the distinguishing parts of their dress, according to the same traveller². Their clothes are of what colour they please.

¹ Tome I, p. 125, 126.

² See the note at the bottom of page 117.

After

After this we may perhaps more clearly comprehend the meaning of David, when we read those words of instruction he gave to Solomon, whose reign was to be peaceful, and consequently could little want the military talents of Joab: "Thou knowest also, " what *Joab* the son of *Zeruiah* did to me, " and what he did to the two captains of the " hosts of Israel, unto *Abner* the son of *Ner*, " and unto *Amasa* the son of *Jether*, whom " he slew, and shed the blood of war in " peace, and put the blood of war upon his " girdle that was about his loins, and *upon* " his shoes that were on his feet," 1 Kings ii.

5. I say *upon* rather than *in*, and would remark, that it is precisely the same particle as is joined with the word girdle in the Hebrew, and which our translators themselves render there *upon*.

OBSERVATION LXXXVI.

It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, precisely to determine the meaning of those three words in Dan. iii. 21, which are translated in our version, *coats*, *bosen*, and *bats*; but those words seem to me, in general, to point out those *badges of honour* that were upon these three Jewish heroes, not any parts of their common dress; and if so understood, greater life will be thrown into that part of the story, than will otherwise appear there.

The

The words certainly may as well be understood to mean they were thrown with such things about them into the fire, as well as with their common garments; as that they were cast into that terrible fiery furnace, with this part of their common dress, that other, a third thing, and, in one word, all their garments. Why this enumeration of particulars, according to this latter supposition? Would it not have been as well, in that case, to have said at once, they were thrown into the fire with their clothes on?

The old English term *bosen*, which is used to translate the second of these words, was designed by our translators, there is reason to believe, to express *drawers*, *trowsers*, or *breeches*, not *stockings*, for that was the common meaning of the word in the time in which that version was made, and the word has been so understood by other translators'; not to remark, that the Eastern people, in common, appear not to have used stockings. But is it not strange, that it should be remarked by the historian that they were committed to the flames with their *breeches* on? Would it not have been extremely strange if it had been otherwise? If they had been divested of their upper garments before they had been thrown into the furnace, certainly such a part of their dress as this would have been left upon them. Decency required it.

* Particularly by Arias Montanus.

In the three other places of holy writ in which the word appears¹, it is translated *hammer*, and evidently signifies some such instrument; but it is very difficult to conceive, how the same word came to be made use of to express such very dissimilar things as an hammer and a pair of breeches.

There will be much the same difficulty, in making out the connexion, if we should suppose this second word means *the covering they wore on their heads*, as the Septuagint and vulgar Latin translations seem to have done.

Nothing, in short, can be more indecisive than the translations that have been given of these words. But considering that these three Jews had been *set over the province of Babylon*, by King Nebuchadnezzar, at the request of Daniel their countryman; that this was a time of great solemnity, when it was to be supposed all officers of state were to appear in their proper habiliments; that *Shadrach* and his two companions were present on this occasion; I have thought nothing can be more natural, than the supposing these three words signify three particular things, superadded to the garments worn by the people of that country in private stations.

Impressed with this idea, I consulted the plates Sir John Chardin has given us, of the carvings that are found in the ruins of *Persepolis*, which are supposed to have been erected about the time of the prophet *Daniel*, in

¹ Is. 41. 7. Jer. 23. 29, ch. 50. 23.

which

which that eminent traveller has given us a delineation of an ancient Persian sacred procession. Among other figures I observed one man that had an *hammer*, or *mallet*, or some such instrument, in each hand. A variety of other instruments appear in the hands of other persons, which it must be difficult to give a satisfactory account of. But the *hammers* in so ancient a monument; erected in that country; and carried in a sacred procession there, very much struck me.

Numbers of these figures wore, according to the ancient simplicity, no covering whatever on their heads¹, but that which Nature gave them; but others had different kinds of coverings on their heads: but not one resembling our *bats*, nor the modern eastern *turban*; consequently, so far as this ancient monument will be admitted to afford some illustration of that grand assembly, which was convened to consecrate the image of gold, set up by *Nebuchadnezzar* in the plain of *Dura*, if one of the three words should signify an artificial covering of the head, as has been commonly supposed, though some understand the second of the words, and others the third, to have that meaning, so little are the learned agreed in determining the signification of these words; I say, supposing one of them should signify *a covering of the head*, the word *bat* in our

¹ Niebuhr, Descript. de l'Arabie, p. 57, gives an account of many of the Arabs wearing only a cord about their heads.

translation is not proper ; nor even the word *turbant*, which is put into the margin, from an apprehension, as it should seem, that the name of a modern *eastern coiffure* would be more agreeable here, than one known only in these more western parts of the world.

Antiquity will not, however, determine, with precision, what the shape of that ancient covering of the head was that these three Jews wore, if it is allowed that it probably is to be found in this ancient monument, since there are no fewer than four or five different sorts of them, that appear in this delineation of an ancient sacred procession, though not one that resembles *an hat or a turbant*. It cannot therefore from hence be told, which Shadrach and his companions wore upon this occasion. *Different ranks* of people probably wore *different coiffures*, as differently made *turbants* are now worn in the East, in *different countries*, and even by people of *different ranks* in the same country.

All the five sorts, however, or at least *almost all* of them, may be called in our language *caps*, which perhaps may be a more proper word, to be used in translating this passage, than either *hat or turbant*.

Many of these figures have a short sort of cloke hanging over their shoulders, something like one of those ancient vestments put on the shoulders of our English kings, in the day of their *coronation*. Perhaps something of this kind is what is meant by the first of these

these three words, which our English version renders *coats*; but which the more modest translators of the Septuagint would not venture to put a Greek word for, but gave the original word, or what they took for the original word, in Greek letters. The like modesty appears in the interlineary version of *Montanus*.

The vulgar Latin, Symmachus, and a Greek scholiast, whose words are given by Lambert Bos in his edition of the Septuagint, suppose that the first of these three words signifies breeches, or something of that kind; but the reason I before mentioned prevents an acquiescence in such an interpretation, and it only serves to shew how little able they were to determine the sense of the words.

The supposing they were ensigns of dignity, or office, in general, appears to be the most natural account that can be given: the command, it seems, was, that they should not only be thrown into the flames with their common garments; but even with all the ensigns of dignity and office which they had on, when first seized. The vehemence of the king's anger being such as to command *immediate* execution, without that *degradation*, (that stripping off *vestments*, and taking away *ensigns of dignity*,) which the cool and determinate cruelty of the popish church in former times has been wont to practise, before the offender in holy orders was committed to the flames.

If it should be objected, that the *hammers* that appear on this Persian antiquity were probably things belonging to their idolatrous worship, and it may be the sacred beetles with which they knocked down their sacrifices, and that therefore these faithful and zealous worshippers of the one living and true God, would never have appeared with them in this solemn assembly: I would answer, that we cannot certainly tell what use they were put to; and if it should be admitted, that *they* were instruments belonging to their idolatrous worship, yet *other* things are seen in the hands of many of these figures, or fixed about them, that plainly appear to have had no such reference, as *spears, bows, quivers, &c.* Consequently the second of these words may very well be understood to mean, some ensigns of their secular honour which they carried in their hands, or had about them, and which might bear some resemblance to the *hammers* of that age, and that country.

Or perhaps the word might mean those large *hammer-like* hilted swords, which appear stuck by the side of several of the *leaders* of each distinct company in this grand procession, and which seem to be the mark of dignity. The form of the hilt of these swords is really remarkable, if the drawings of Chardin are exact. It must be acknowledged, indeed, that they do not appear, at all, in the engravings of these antiquities, in
the

the quarto edition of le Bruyn; but then it ought to be remarked that le Bruyn's figures are of little more than half the size of those of Chardin, and consequently the want of any sword in those leading figures may be owing merely to the diminutive size, in which they must have appeared if properly engraven.

But be this as it may, it is natural to suppose that the three things distinctly mentioned in this passage of Daniel mean, in general, habits or ensigns of dignity, with which they were thrown into the flames, as well as in their common clothes, that all might see no national prejudice, no station of dignity, should exempt them from death, that should dare to refuse a compliance with the will of their prince in religious matters. But what the things particularly were is much more uncertain: if we are at all influenced by these wonderful remains of Eastern royal magnificence, it should seem that the supposing them to mean a short garment hung on the shoulders, something like that part of the English royal dress called the *dalmatica*, a large sword with a *hammer-like* hilt, and a *cap of dignity*, may be as *probable* an interpretation as has been put upon these words, and more so than the explanation of our translation, which talks of coats, *hosen or breeches*, and hats.

Ensigns of dignity began to be worn in times of the most remote antiquity, of which we have any account. And as crowns and

sceptres are very ancient, so we find a *key*, worn on the shoulder, a mark of Jewish inferior dignity, in the time of their princes of the house of David¹. The splendor of Nebuchadnezzar's court leads us to suppose they were of several kinds there, and I would hope the illustration I have given from this celebrated Persian monument may appear not very improbable; at least not disagreeable to be proposed for examination.

OBSERVATION LXXXVII.

When the son of *Sirach* opposes him that wore *ἡμιόλιον* to him that wore purple and a crown², it is visible that he means to contrast one that was miserably clothed to one that was richly attired; but is it as clear that he meant by that Greek word *a porter*, according to the marginal translation? or can the describing such a person as being one that wore a linen garment, according to the body of our English version, be considered as an happy translation?

The poor people of *Ægypt* are described now as clothed very generally with a "linen *shirt* or *frock*, which is always dyed *blue*." But though the dying it of that colour is very universal, yet it is spoken of as done by

¹ If. 22. 22. The *apparel* of the servants of *Solomon*, mentioned 1 Kings 10. 5, were, I presume, *robes of dignity*.

² Ecclesiasticus, 40. 4.

indigo,

indigo, a thing of value, and which is considered as a beautiful dye, and is accordingly cultivated in Ægypt up to the cataracts¹.

So another writer informs us, as to the dress of the common people in Ægypt, that "the men wear next to their skin a shirt of coarse callico, without a collar or wrist-band, which hangs down to their knees; above it they wear another larger, and longer, of a blue colour, and round their waist a leathern girdle about a quarter of a yard in breadth, buckled on the front with brass buckles—The women are dressed nearly in the same manner, but without girdles, wearing their outer shirt loose, reaching down to their heels; the seams of it are sewed with red silk, and *both sides are embroidered, &c.*" This embroidery, I think, plainly shows, that though it is the dress of the common people that is described, yet still not as destitute of all finery, and the being dyed with indigo is of the same nature with the embroidery: may not *ἡμιολιον* then mean coarse linen *not so much as dyed*, according to the custom of Ægypt with indigo, but worn as it comes from the bleaching-ground? perhaps not so much as *bleached*, but as it came *from the loom*? As the word signifies *crude linen*, may it not be understood after this manner?

¹ De Tott's Memoirs, part 4, p. 68.

² Hist. of the Revolt of Ali Bey, p. 17.

One would hardly think it necessary to suppose it means *tow*, or *flax unwoven and unspun*, though a quantity of that wrapped round the waist, might be sufficient to conceal the private parts, which seems to be as much as many of the Ægyptians seem to be concerned about, and even more. So *Niebuhr* saw some washer-women in that country, washing in the sea and in the river, who had no trowsers on, but simply a cloth about their haunches¹. *De Tott* adds, concerning the Ægyptians, "Both the men and women swim like fish. Their clothing is only a blue shirt, which but indifferently conceals the pudency of the women; the men gird it round them, for convenience, while they labour; the children always go *naked*, and I have seen girls, eighteen years old, still children, in that respect²."

I suppose with *Grotius*, in his commentary on this book, that it is not necessary to understand the first member of this verse exclusively of kings, since their nobles also wore *purple*; but I am inclined to think the *crowns* this writer speaks of do not mean garlands of flowers, worn in times of festivity, since the poorest might, if they pleased, do the same thing, and those that were inferior to kings had *crowns* (or *coronets*) of gold sent them, as well as *purple* in those times, and among the

¹ Voy. en Arabie, & en d'autres Pays circonvoisins, tome 1, p. 168.

² Tome 4, p. 74.

rest, some of the great men of the Jewish nation at that time, as appears by one of the books entitled *Maccabees*¹.

But the most splendid dress is certainly opposed in these words to the meanest, and it will be agreeable to recollect here, that the author was a Jew *who wrote in Ægypt*, where linen *died blue* is universally, or almost universally, worn by the common people.

OBSERVATION LXXXVIII.

It seems that the possession of *black eunuchs* is not very common in the Levant, and that they are hardly any where to be found except in the *palaces of the sovereign*, or of the *branches of the royal family*; if so, it should seem that in some points, in this in particular, the ancient Jewish kings carried their magnificence as high as the modern princes of Asia; for we find *Ebed-melech*, who appears to have been a *black eunuch*², served in the court of Zedekiah³, the last of the kings of Judah, preceding the captivity of that people in Babylon.

The similarity of taste in being attended by *eunuchs*, in setting a peculiar estimation on those of a *black complexion*, and the supposed *magnificence* of having such attendants, is rather remarkable.

¹ 1 Macc. 10. 20.

² Jer. 13. 23.

³ Jer. 38. 7, 10, 12, ch. 39. 16.

When the Baron de Tott's wife and mother-in-law were admitted to make a visit to *Asma Sultana*, daughter of the emperor Achmet, and sister of the then reigning prince, he tells us, *that at the opening of the third gate of her palace, several black eunuchs presented themselves, who, with each a white staff in his hand, preceded the visitors, leading them to a spacious apartment, called the Chamber of Strangers.* At the close of the account of this visit, he informs us, that "these beings are in Turkey
 " only an article of luxury, and scarcely met
 " with, but in the seraglio of the Grand Seignior, and those of the Sultanas. The
 " pride of some grandees has indeed gone so
 " far as to make use of them, but *with*
 " moderation, and the richest among them
 " have not more than one or two black eunuchs at most. The manners of
 " these are *always* harsh and brutal, and offended Nature seems continually to express
 " her anger at the injury she has received."

The very humane disposition *Ebed-melech* expressed towards the prophet *Jeremiah*, when thrown into a dungeon where he was ready to perish, seems to entitle him to the honour of being an exception to this unamiable character, but which may be, very possibly, most agreeable to their tyrannizing masters.

* Memoirs, part 1, p. 71, &c.

OBSERVATION LXXXIX.

Among other instances of the extreme distance, and profound awe, with which Eastern majesty is treated, one that is mentioned by Sir *John Chardin*, in his account of *Persia*, appears very strange to us; yet may afford a lively comment on a passage of the prophet *Ezekiel*.

Sir John tells us', "It is a common custom in Persia, that when a great man has built a palace, he treats the king and his grandees in it for several days. Then the great gate of it is open; but when these festivities are over, they shut it up never more to be opened." He adds, "I have heard that the same thing is practised in Japan."

It seems surprising to us, that great and magnificent houses within should have only small entrances into them, which no one would suppose would lead you into such beautiful edifices; but such, he observes, is the common custom there: making no magnificent entrance into their houses at all; or, if they do, shutting them up after a little time, and making use of some small entrance near the great one, or, it may be, in some very different part of the building.

² Tome 3, p. 69.

This

This account, however, may serve as a comment on that passage of *Ezekiel*, "Then said the Lord unto me, This gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened, and no man shall enter in by it; because the Lord God of Israel hath entered in by it, therefore it shall be shut. It is for the prince." Ch. xliv. 2, 3.

Not so however for the prince himself, as that he should *pass through* that gate; he was only to stand, or sit *in the entrance* of it: while other persons, if they worshipped at that gate, were to keep at a more awful distance, ch. xlv. 1—12. But this indulgence was only on festival days—sabbaths and new-moons.

OBSERVATION XC.

Deep as the reverence is with which the Orientals treat their princes, yet, in some cases, a mode of treatment occurs that we are surprised at, as seeming to us of the West too near an approach to that familiarity that takes place among equals: the taking a new elected prince by the hand, in token of acknowledging his princely character, may probably appear to us in this light.

D'Herbelot, in explaining an Eastern term¹, which he tells us signifies the election or in-

¹ P. 204, art. Biat.

auguration of a Khalife, the supreme head of the Mohammedans in civil and ecclesiastical matters both, tells us, that "this ceremony consisted in stretching forth a person's hand, and taking that of him that they acknowledged for Khalife. This was a sort of performing homage, and swearing fealty to him." He adds, that "Khondemir (a celebrated historian) speaking of the election of *Othman*, the third Khalife after Mahomet, says, that *Ali* alone did not present his hand to him, and that upon that occasion *Abdurahman*, who had by *promise* made the election, said to him, O *Ali*! he who violates his word is the first person that is injured by so doing; upon hearing of which words, *Ali* stretched out his hand, and acknowledged *Othman* as Khalife."

How much less solemn and expressive of reverence is this, than the manner of paying homage and swearing fealty at the coronation of our princes; to say nothing of the adoration that is practised in the Romish church, upon the election of their greatest ecclesiastic! It may however serve to illustrate what we read concerning *Jehonadab*', the head of an Arab tribe that lived in, and consequently was in some measure subject to, the kingdom of Israel. *Jehonadab came to meet Jebu, and he saluted him; and Jebu said to Jehonadab, Is*

* 2 Kings 10. 15, 16.

thine heart right, as my heart is with thy heart? and Jehonadab answered, *It is. And he said, If it be, give me thine hand: and he gave him his hand, and he took him up to him into the chariot.*

This giving him the hand appears not to have been the expression of *private friendship*; but the *solemn acknowledgment* of him as king over Israel.

Our translators seem to have supposed, by their way of expressing matters, that Jehu saluted, or blessed Jehonadab, and Bishop Patrick thought it was plain that it ought so to be understood; but I cannot but think it most natural to understand the words as signifying, that Jehonadab came to meet Jehu as then king of Israel, and compliment him on his being acknowledged king of the country in which he dwelt; not that this newly anointed prince first saluted him. This would not have been in character. So when Jacob was introduced to Pharaoh, he is said to have blessed Pharaoh, not Pharaoh Jacob, Gen. xlvii. 7. The words therefore should have been translated, with a slight variation, after some such manner as this, "He lighted on Jehonadab, the son of Rechab, coming to meet him, and he (Jehonadab) saluted him, and *he* (Jehu) said unto him, Is thine heart, &c."

OBSERVATION XCI.

Takhtdar, d'Herbelot informs us¹, is a Persian word, which properly signifies a precious carpet, which is made use of *for the covering the throne of the kings of Persia*; and that this word is also used as an epithet, by which the Persians *describe their princes*, on account of their being possessed of this throne: now I would propose it as a query, Whether it is not as probable, that the term *covering*, applied by the prophet Ezekiel to the prince of Tyrus, may be explained in a similar way, and be as good a solution of a very obscure epithet as any that has been offered by the learned? It certainly will have the advantage, as appears by this citation, of being truly in the Eastern taste.

The passage, referred to in *Ezekiel*, is as follows: "Son of man, take up a lamentation upon the king of *Tyrus*, and say unto him, Thus saith the Lord God, Thou sealest up the sum, full of wisdom, and perfect in beauty. Thou hast been in Eden the garden of God: every precious stone was thy covering, the sardius, topaz, &c. Thou art the anointed cherub *that covereth*: and I have set thee so: thou wast upon the holy mountain of God; thou hast walked

¹ P. 847.

“ up and down in the midst of the stones
 “ of fire, &c. By the multitude of thy mer-
 “ chandise they have filled the midst of thee
 “ with violence, and thou hast sinned : there-
 “ fore I will cast thee as profane out of the
 “ mountain of God : and I will destroy thee,
 “ O *covering* cherub, from the midst of the
 “ stones of fire.” Ch. xxviii. 12—16.

The explanation given by the learned of this epithet *covering* has been, by some, that it is an allusion to the posture of the cherubic figures that were over the ark¹; and of others, that it means the protection this prince afforded to other states, either Judæa, the mountain of God, as it might be styled, or the cities of the heathen in the islands of the Mediterranean, or on it's sea-coasts. What they have said may, I believe, be reduced to one of these particulars.

But it cannot well be the first, for the prophet evidently refers to a *living* cherub, not the posture of the image of one made of gold, or of an olive-tree². He cannot be described after this manner, on the account of his being a protector of Judæa, and his covering that sacred country from it's enemies, for the prophet represents this prince as an adversary in this very prophecy: “ Son of man, because that
 “ Tyrus hath said *against Jerusalem*, Aha, she
 “ is broken that was the gates of the people:
 “ she is turned unto me; I shall be replenish-

¹ Exod. 25. 20. 1 Kings 8. 7. ² 1 Kings 6. 23.

“ed, now she is laid waste : Therefore thus
“saith the Lord God, Behold, I am against
“thee, O Tyrus, &c,” ch. xxvi. 2, 3. Nor
doth there appear any ground in the prophecy,
for believing Tyrus was remarkable for de-
fending their neighbours. On the contrary,
the *Sidonians* are represented in the Scriptures
as an unwarlike people, Judges xviii. 7, and
they and the Tyrians are known to have re-
sembled each other ; indeed to have been
nearly one people.

But if we understand the word as signifying
having a throne covered with a *rich and widely-
spreading carpet*, it will be explaining the word
in a manner conformable to the *present Eastern
taste*, as appears by this article of d’Herbelot ;
and will answer the *rest of the imagery*, with
sufficient exactness.

Ezekiel appears to have mingled earthly
and heavenly things together, in this de-
scription of *Tyrian royal magnificence*. Earth
and heaven are joined together in the 2d
verse of this 28th chapter, “Thou hast said,
“I am a God, I sit in the seat of God,” that
is in heaven, among the stars, as the king of
Babylon is represented by *Isaiah* as boasting,
“Thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend
“into heaven, I will exalt my throne above
“the stars of God. . . . I will ascend above
“the heights of the clouds ; I will be like
“the most High ;” yet at the same time the

’ If. 14. 13, 14.

prince

prince of Tyrus is supposed to speak of his sitting in the heart of the sea. In like manner this prince is spoken of *as having been in Eden the garden of God*, (the world of blessed spirits appears to have been meant,) *yet as adorned with jewels of an earthly nature, the sardius, topaz, diamond, &c.* No wonder then that in the next verse he is described *as a cherub*, which every body knows denotes a kind of *angel*, and inhabitant of heaven, and yet is represented as appearing in the attitude of an earthly prince, *seated on a throne, covered either with a widely-extended carpet, or with robes with a mighty spreading train.* The heavenly vision which Isaiah saw, in the year that king Uzziah died¹, presented much the same appearance, “I saw also the Lord upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his train” (or, according to the margin, the skirts thereof) “filled the temple.” After that Ezekiel speaks of this prince as upon the mountain of God, magnificent, that is, as if in *heaven*, for he had no abode on mount Sion; and walking up and down in the midst of the stones of fire, or stars, as before observed concerning the king of Babylon. Then, in the 16th verse, he is threatened to be cast, as profane, out of this mountain of God, and though a *covering cherub*, or like a cherub enthroned, to be destroyed from the midst of these metaphorical stones of fire, the *stars* above which

¹ Is. 6. 1.

he had as it were placed his throne, so great was his pomp and magnificence.

Such seems to me the most natural explanation of the term *covering* in this description. Why the king of Tyrus is denominated a *cherub*, and why called the *anointed* cherub, are not matters that come under this Observation¹. All that I would remark farther is, that it should seem there was a different reading in the Hebrew copy, or copies, that St. Jerome made use of, from what we now find in those of the modern Jews, for he translates that word which we render *anointed*, ("Thou art the anointed cherub,") by the term *extensus*, which signifies extended, or drawn out in length, and so both epithets may be considered as forming one idea—O thou extended and covering cherub! thou cherub whose royal carpet extends far and near, and most magnificently covers a very large space. Jerome however gives us to understand the Septuagint translators read, as

¹ It may not be amiss, just to hint in a note; that as a cherub is supposed to fly with the rapidity of the wind, according to those words, "He rode upon a cherub, and did fly; yea, he did fly upon the wings of the wind;" by which it appears, that the wings of a cherub and the wings of the wind are terms of much the same import: for that reason the prince of Tyre, who was a most distinguished maritime power at that time, whose ships flew about the seas on the wings of the wind, and who might at times appear in great pomp, in some ancient bucentaur or royal yacht, flying like a cherub, from whence he might be so named, as other princes were called *angels*, from the general great splendor of their appearance.

our Hebrew copies do now, that which signifies anointed. Wherever the mistake is supposed to lie, in our modern Hebrew copies or St. Jerome's, the mistake was easily made, *cheth* being put for *he*, or the reverse; and every one that knows the shape of the Hebrew letters, knows how nearly they resemble each other: Jerome, it seems, taking the word to be derived from the verb *masbab*, he drew out; our copies read *masbach*, he anointed.

OBSERVATION XCII.

Though the sitting on mats or carpets on the ground is now the common usage of the East, with hardly any variation from it; and though it seems, according to a note in a preceding volume¹, to have obtained, on some occasions at least, in the time of our Lord, among the Jews: yet it is certain seats raised to a considerable height from the ground, even so high as to make a footstool requisite, were in use anciently in places where hardly any such thing is now to be found.

The *Persian* carvings, at Persepolis, frequently exhibit a venerable personage sitting in a sort of high-raised chair, with a footstool²; but the later sovereigns of that country have sat, with their legs under them, on some carpet

¹ Vol. 2, p. 66, note.

² Chardin, tome 3, planche 63, 64, and 66.

or cushion laid on the floor, like their subjects. Sitting low in the like manner is practised now by all sorts of people, from the highest to the lowest, in Ægypt¹; but two very ancient colossal statues there are placed on cubical stones, in the same attitude that we make use of in sitting, it being, according to Norden's measures, from the sole of the feet to the knees 15 feet². In like manner, we find the figures on the ancient Syrian coins are represented sitting on seats as we do.

From which this conclusion, I think, may be fairly drawn, that they sat in these countries, formerly, not unfrequently as we do, particularly those in high life, though oftener on the ground or floor than obtains among us, even among those low in the world.

Accordingly *Eli*, the judge as well as high-priest of Israel, sat on a throne or *high seat*, when the fatal news of the defeat of his people was brought to him, upon falling from which he broke his neck, 1 Sam. iv. 18.

Nor were such lofty seats appropriate to *kings and supreme magistrates*; Solomon represents a lewd woman, who sat at her door to inveigle passengers, as seated *on such a seat*, for it is the same word in the original which is continually translated *throne*: "She sitteth
"at the door of her house, on a seat (a
"throne) in the high places of the city, to
"call passengers who go right on their ways.

¹ Norden, vol. 2, p. 74, plate 5.

² P. 69.

“ Whoso is simple, let him turn in hither,
 “ &c.” Prov. ix. 14, &c.

That custom of sitting at their doors, in the most alluring pomp that comes within their reach, is still an Eastern practice. “ The *whores*,” says Pitts, speaking of the ladies of pleasure at Grand Cairo, “ use to *sit at the door*, or walk in the streets unveiled. “ They are commonly very *rich* in their clothes, some having their shifts and drawers of silk, &c. These courtezans or ladies of pleasure, as well as other women, have broad velvet caps on their heads, beautified with abundance of pearls, and other *costly* and gaudy ornaments, &c. These madams go along the streets smoking their pipes of four or five foot long; *and when they sit at their doors*, a man can scarce pass by but they will endeavour to decoy him in ¹.”

The Jewish police, in the time of Solomon, was not so rigid, it seems, as to prevent the appearance of lewd women in public; and when they did do so, it appears that they frequently sat at the doors of their houses, as they do now in that part of the world, to entice the unthinking. At which time they assume all the pomp and splendor in their power; and this sitting on an *high seat* was used, undoubtedly, with that view, in the time of

¹ Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mahometans, p. 99, 100.

Solomon. Agreeably to which he represents a lewd woman, in another passage, as talking of the *decking her bed with coverings of tapestry, with fine linen of Ægypt, and of perfuming it with myrrh, aloes, and cinnamon*¹.

They did not then among the ancients sit *universally* as the modern inhabitants of the East now do, on the ground or floor, on some mat or carpet; they sometimes sat on *thrones*, or seats more or less like our chairs, often raised so high as to require a footstool. But it was considered as a piece of *splendor*, and offered as a mark of *particular respect*.

It was doubtless for this reason that a seat of this kind was placed, along with some other furniture, in the chamber the devout Shupamitefs prepared for the prophet Elisha, 2 Kings iv. 10, which our version has very unhappily translated *a stool*, by which we mean the least honourable kind of seat in an apartment; whereas the original word meant to express their respect for the prophet by the kind of seat he prepared for him².

These

¹ Prov. 7. 16, 17.

² The word is the same with that commonly translated throne. The *candlestick* is, in like manner, to be considered as a piece of furniture, suitable to a room that was magnificently fitted up, according to the mode of those times, a light being kept burning all night long in such apartments. So a lamp was kept burning all night, in the apartment in which Dr. Richard Chandler slept, in the house of the Jew who was vice-consul for the English nation, at the place where he first landed, when he proposed

These high seats were also used, it should seem, in other parts of the East besides Judæa, for St. James' writing to the Jews *in their dispersions*, speaks of them as using seats that required a *footstool* in their religious assemblies, ch. ii. 3.

Some ingenious writers then seem to have pushed matters too far, when they have represented the people of the East as anciently sitting cross-legged, or on their hams, as *universally* as they now do.

OBSERVATION XCIII.

The Eastern people spread mats or small carpets under them when they pray, and even suppose it unlawful to pray on the bare ground; is it not natural to suppose the Jews had something under them when they prayed, and that this was a piece of sackcloth in times of peculiar humiliation?

When they wore sackcloth in the day, it is not perhaps natural to suppose they *slept in*

to visit the curious ruins of Asia Minor. Farther we are told by de la Roque, in the account given of some French gentlemen's going to Arabia Felix, p. 43, 44, that as they found only mats in the house of the captain of the port of Aden, where they were honourably received, which were to serve them for beds, chairs, and tables, so in the evening they brought them tapers without candlesticks, the want of which they were to supply as well as they could, which was but indifferently.

James I. I,

fine

fine linen ; but I should suppose some passages of Scripture, which, in our translation, speak of *laying in sackcloth*, are rather to be understood of *lying prostrate* before God on sackcloth, than taking their repose on that coarse and harsh kind of stuff.

The learned and exact Vitrina makes no remark of this kind on that passage of Isaiah, "Is it such a fast that I have chosen? a day for a man to afflict his soul? is it to bow down his head as a bulrush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him?" He only quotes what is said of Ahab, 1 Kings xxi. 27; and the Jews in Shushan, Esther iv. 3; as of a similar nature, and seems to understand this piece of humiliation before God of lodging on sackcloth*. But, surely! it must be much more natural to understand the solemnity of prostration on sackcloth before God, which follows the mention of hanging down the head, used in kneeling, or in standing as suppliants before him, rather than of sleeping in sackcloth, the night before or the night after the day of fasting.

It seems to me, in like manner, to express the humiliation of Ahab with more energy, than as commonly understood: "And it came to pass, when Ahab heard those words, that

* Is. 58. 5.

† Solebant enim, qui se profunde humiliabant, in sacco et cinere jacere, nullo alio capitis aut corporis fulcimento sibi substrato, ut exemplo Achabi, et aliunde liquet.

“ he rent his clothes, and put sackcloth upon
 “ his flesh, and fasted, and *prostrated himself*
 “ *on sackcloth, &c.*” The like may be said
 of the laying of the Jews in Shushan in sack-
 cloth.

A passage in Josephus strongly confirms this, in which he describes the deep concern of the Jews for the danger of Herod Agrippa, after having been stricken suddenly with a violent disorder in the theatre of Cæsarea. Upon the news of his danger, “ immediately
 “ the multitude, with their wives and child-
 “ ren, sitting upon sackcloth, according to
 “ their country rites, prayed for the king:
 “ all places were filled with wailing and
 “ lamentation: while the king, who lay in
 “ an upper room, beholding the people thus
 “ below falling prostrate on the ground, could
 “ not himself refrain from tears.” *Antiq. lib.*
xix, cap. 8, §. 2, p. 951. Here we see the sit-
 ting on sackcloth, resting on their hams, in
 prayer, and falling prostrate at times on the
 sackcloth, was a Jewish observance in times of
 humiliation and distress.

It is a little unhappy that this passage slipped the recollection of Vitranga, as it sets several places of Scripture in a truer and stronger point of light, than that in which they are usually placed.

The reader will easily imagine, that I do not consider the rendering this clause in a late exquisite and most beautiful translation of Isaiah, as one of the *happiest* parts of it—

“ Is

- “ Is it, that he should bow down his head
“ like a bulrush;
“ And spread sackcloth and ashes *for his*
“ *couch?*”

as I apprehend the spreading the sackcloth was for sitting in an half-kneeling humble posture, and for prostration before God; rather than for sleeping on.

Whether the Jews used carpets in common in their devotions, as the Mohammedans, and the Persians in particular, now do, I will not take upon me to say; but Sir John Chardin supposes these modern Eastern practices are derived from the Jews, and he tells us that the Persians that are devout will have a little carpet to perform their devotions on, *appropriated* for that purpose, though the rooms in which they pray are all over covered with carpets. The reason alledged by them it seems is, that they may appear before God in a low and mean condition, (whereas it is well known that the carpets of the East are often extremely rich, beautiful, and costly.) They do not however use sackcloth in general, but the poorer sort, *mats*; others of an higher station, *felt*; and people of quality, *fine camblet*¹.

As they make a scruple of praying on the bare ground², except in travelling, one would be inclined to think this custom rather arose

¹ Voy. tome 2, p. 392, 393.

² Ibidem.

from

from a care to avoid dirt¹ as a thing that was defiling, than to express humiliation, for nothing can be more humbling, defilement not considered, than kneeling on the bare ground; however, at present, it should seem, they have a different apprehension of things, for they say it is unlawful to pray on the bare earth, or a bare floor, except in journeying, *the earth upon which they speak to God being, according to them, holy, it ought to be covered from a principle of doing it honour, and to walk upon it, so covered, barefooted only,*

OBSERVATION XCIV.

The manner in which the modern christianized Greeks observe the Sunday, derived, most probably, from the manner in which their *pagan* ancestors observed their *sacred days*, may be considered as giving a lively explanation of what the *Jewish* prophet meant, when he said, “ If thou turn away thy foot
“ from the *Sabbath*, from *doing thy pleasure*
“ on my holy day; and call the *Sabbath* a
“ delight; the holy of the Lord, honourable;
“ and shalt honour him, not doing thine own

¹ It was, it is probable, for this reason that the Jews were wont to choose the *sea-shore* for kneeling upon when they prayed, of which we find an instance in the Acts of the Apostles, ch. 21. 5.

“ ways, nor *finding thine own pleasure*, nor
“ speaking thine own words : then shalt thou
“ delight thyself, &c¹. ”

“ In the evening,” says Dr. Chandler,
speaking of his visiting the island Tenedos,
“ this being Sunday and a festival, we were
“ much amused with seeing the Greeks, who
“ were *singing and dancing*, in several com-
“ panies, to music, near the town ; while
“ their women were sitting in groups on the
“ roofs of the houses, which are flat, as
“ spectators, at the same time enjoying the
“ soft air and serene sky². ”

The ancient Ægyptian festivals were observed, we are told, with processions, with music, and other tokens of joy, and we have reason to believe the account is true, from what is said in the book of Exodus, of the manner in which the Ægyptianizing Jews observed the festival of the golden calf : it seems they eat and drank, and rose up to play, Exod. xxxii. 6, which is explained by ver. 18 and 19, which speak of their dancing and singing. As the visible object of their worship was in the Ægyptian taste ; the method of solemnizing the festival was, without doubt, after their manner also.

The Sabbaths of Jehovah were to be observed in a very different form. Fires, I have elsewhere shown³, are often but little wanted

¹ If. 58. 13, 14. ² Travels in Asia Minor, p. 18.

³ Observations, ch. 3, obs. 24.

for the purpose of warming themselves through the whole winter; they are necessary for cooking, but *no fires were to be kindled through their habitations on their Sabbaths*, Exod. xxxv. 3: there was to be no feasting then. It was to be a time of repose, not therefore of *dancing*, which it should seem is rather a violent exercise in those countries¹.

But this prohibition of the Jewish law-giver, and afterwards of Isaiah, did not arise from a fullen dislike of every thing pleasurable even in religious solemnities. In their *feast of Tabernacles* they were commanded to *rejoice*, and the injunction was redoubled². They were commanded also to rejoice before the Lord in the feast of Pentecost³. Isaiah speaketh of a *song in the night, when a holy solemnity was kept, and gladness of heart, as when one goeth with a pipe to come into the mountain of the Lord to the mighty one of Israel*⁴; and David danced before the ark of God, when it was removed from the house of Obed-edom to the city of David⁵. But their Sabbaths were to

¹ See Dr. Chandler's Travels, p. 24. "Our janizary, who was called Barneter Aga, played on a Turkish instrument like a guittar. Some accompanied him with their voices, *singing loud*. Their favourite ballad contained the praises of Stamboul or Constantinople. Two, and sometimes three or four, danced together, keeping time to a lively tune, until they were almost *breathless*. These extraordinary exertions were followed with a demand of bac-shish, a reward or present, &c."

² Deut. 16. 13, 14, 15.

³ Ver. 10. 11.

⁴ Ch. 30. 29.

⁵ 2 Sam. 6. 14.

be observed in a more composed and silent way.

This arose then from other causes—from a principle of *benevolence*, that the labouring hand, the slave, and even the cattle, might not be overborn with incessant work¹—that they might *gather together* for religious purposes²—that they might have time for *meditation*, and those devotional exercises of the heart which are so much it's natural consequence: “Remember that thou wast a servant
“ in the land of Ægypt, and that the Lord
“ thy God brought thee out thence, through
“ a mighty hand, and by an out-stretched
“ arm: *therefore the Lord thy God commanded*
“ *thee to keep the Sabbath-day*³.” Every one knows how favourable cessation from business and solitude are to *meditation*, and it's attendant exercises: reading and prayer.

These are *moral* considerations, and all of them perfectly agreeable to the Christian dispensation, and consequently it should seem, that if we observe one day in the week as sacred, it should be observed, *in general*, after the same manner—as a time of cessation from business as far as may well be; freedom from company; an attending public worship; and the exercises of devout retirement. Jewish peculiarities *cannot be necessary*; but the dissipation of the Greeks cannot be agreeable to the genius of the Gospel, which though

¹ Exod. 23. 12.

² Lev. 23. 3.

³ Deut. 5. 15.

by no means morose and gloomy, is serious and thoughtful¹.

OBSERVATION XCV.

The *stretching out the hand* towards an object of devotion, or an holy place, was an ancient usage among Jews and heathens both, and it *continues* in the East to this time, which continuance I do not remember to have seen remarked.

“ If,” says the Psalmist, “ we have forgotten the name of our God, or *stretched out our hands to a strange God*: shall not God search this out,” Ps. xliv. 20, 21. “ Ethiopia shall soon *stretch out her hands* unto God,” Ps. lxviii. 31. “ Hear the voice of my supplications, when I cry unto thee: when *I lift up my hand towards thy holy oracle*,” Ps. xxviii. 2.

¹ “ Work out your own salvation with *fear and trembling*,” says the Apostle, Phil. 2. 12; to which may be added, that being “ lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God; having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof;” is the description the Apostle gives of those that are under the influence of a spirit, the reverse of that of the Gospel, 2 Tim. 3. 4, 5. Celebrating days devoted to religious exercises, after the *manner* the ancient heathens observed their festivals, by no means agrees with the apostolic instruction, Rom. 12. 2; as attention, recollection, and withdrawment from wordly cares and conversations, are what the Lord Jesus enjoins those that hear his word preached, as appear by the parable of the sower, Matt. 13. 19, 22.

That

That this attitude in prayer has *continued* among the Eastern people, appears by the following passages from Pitts, in his account of the Religion and Manners of the Mahometans. Speaking of the Algerines throwing wax-candles and pots of oil over board, as a present to some marabbot, (or Mohammedan saint,) Pitts goes on¹, and says, "When this is done, they all together *hold up their hands*, begging the marabbot's blessing, and a prosperous voyage." This they do *in common*, it seems, when in the Straights-mouth²; "and if at any time they happen to be in a very great strait or distress, as being chased, or in a storm, they will gather money, and do likewise³." In the same page he tells us the "*marabbots* have generally a little neat room built over their graves, resembling in figure their mosques or churches, which is very nicely cleaned, and well looked after." And in the succeeding page he tells us, "Many people there are who will scarce pass by *any of them without lifting up their hands*, and saying some short prayer." He mentions the same devotion again as practised towards a saint that lies buried on the shore of the Red-Sea, p. 114.

In like manner, he tells us, that at quitting the *Beat*, or holy house at Mecca, to which

¹ P. 17, 18.

² Where, on the Barbary shore, one of these marabbots lies intombed. *Ib.*

³ P. 18.

they

they make devout pilgrimages, "they hold up
 " *their hands towards the Beat*, making earnest
 " petitions; and then keep going backward
 " till they come to the abovesaid farewell
 " gate.—All the way as they retreat, they
 " continue petitioning, *holding up their hands*,
 " with their eyes fixed on the Beat; 'till they
 " are out of sight of it; and so go to their
 " lodgings weeping," p. 143, 144.

OBSERVATION XCVI.

The *threshold* of the palace of a living prince, and the *threshold* of a dead highly-honoured personage, are supposed to be the places where those that proposed to do them honour, prostrated themselves, touching it with their foreheads in token of *solemn reverence*.

For this reason it is, I imagine, that the prophet *Ezekiel* calls the sanctuary the *threshold of God*, and idolatrous temples, or chapels, (when more than one place were dedicated to the worship of distinct idols, in one and the same building,) their *thresholds*, ch. xliiii. 8. "In their setting of *their thresholds*—
 " *old by my thresholds*, and their posts by my
 " posts¹, and the wall between me and
 " them," (or, according to the marginal translation, "for there was but a wall be-

¹ Our translation differs from some other translations, making these three words *plural*.

"tween me and them,) "they have even
"defiled my holy name by their abominations
"that they have committed."

I do not know why else that part of their respective sacred edifices should be selected from the rest, and the *threshold* be particularly mentioned by Ezekiel.

It is certain the *modern Persians* make the threshold, in particular, the place where their devotees pay their reverence to their *entombed saints*, whom they sometimes treat, remote as these Persians are from idolatry, with a most improper and extravagant veneration. So immediately after the 6th distich, inscribed on the front of the famous and highly honoured sacred tomb at *Com*, follows this,
"Happy and glorious is the believer, who
"through reverence shall prostrate himself
"with his head *on the threshold* of this gate,
"in doing which he will imitate the sun and
"the moon'."

In a chapel adjoining to that in which the saint lies, in which adjoining chapel one of the late kings of that country has a superb tomb, and is supposed to lie interred, are seven sacred songs, written in large letters of gold, on a blue ground, in so many distinct panels, written in honour of Haly, Mohammed's son-in-law, and the great saint of the Persians, as also the ancestor of that female saint that lies entombed here. Among other

* Chardin, tome 1, p. 203.

extravagant expressions of praise, there is this distich in the fourth hymn, "The angelic
 " messenger of the truth, Gabriel, *kisses every*
 " *day the threshold of thy gate*, because it is
 " the only way to arrive at the throne of
 " Mohammed¹."

Some of the living Eastern *princes* have been honoured in much the same manner, according to d'Herbelot².

But this will not explain why *posts* are mentioned: "Setting of their *threshold by my*
 " *thresholds*; and their *posts by my posts*." Nor have I met with any account in writers that I have consulted, *why* these are distinctly mentioned. I would only remark, that it appears by what is said of Eli³, that the high-priest of God, when placed in a situation of honour in the tabernacle, was placed on a seat by one of it's posts: consequently I have sometimes thought, that as setting their thresholds by the thresholds of God mean, the making chapels or sanctuaries for their idols, where they were solemnly worshipped, within the precincts of the temple itself; so setting up the *posts* of idols by those of God may mean, the appearance of the high-priests of such idols in some part of the temple of Jehovah himself, with marks of dignity and authority.

¹ P. 209.

² Voy. Biblioth. Orient. art. Mostadem, ou Mostazem Billah.

³ 1 Sam. I. 9.

I will only add, that as the Jewish princes were in like manner placed near a *pillar*, when they appeared in the temple with regal pomp, according to 2 Kings xi. 14; and near the *posts*, or one of the posts of one of it's gates, as appears by a passage of the prophet Ezekiel¹, the expression may be understood to refer to such royal seats. But these are so far from being alledged as decisive proofs, that they are only mentioned as giving some *faint appearance of probability* to such an explanation. And if admitted, it may signify the setting up a *royal seat* in these idolatrous sanctuaries; as there was a seat for the prince, when attending the worship of Jehovah.

But I should *rather* prefer the first of these interpretations, and suppose the posts complained of, referred to the pomp with which the high-priests of their idols appeared in the temple of Jehovah himself, whose high-priest alone should have had that honour.

OBSERVATION XCVII.

The Jewish high-priest describes the sword of Goliath, which had been laid up in the tabernacle of God, a consecrated memorial of the remarkable victory gained over that vain-glorious idolater, as *wrapped up in some covering*: but when our translators render it a

¹ Ch. 44. 3.

*cloth*¹, (which seems to convey the idea of an ordinary common piece of linen or woollen cloth,) they have surely determined what ought to have been left indeterminate, at least; I should even think it most probable, that whatever is meant by the covering, it was something *stately and magnificent*, according to the modes of that country, and that age.

The covering of the sword may mean it's *scabbard*; but most likely is to be understood of something in which both sword and scabbard were wrapped up.

Fine *wrought handkerchiefs* are now frequently given to persons as tokens of respect², and are sometimes thrown over other things sent for presents in the East to the great. May we not suppose something of this kind was the wrapper in which this sword was placed, presented by a youth of generosity and devotion, who had a right to claim the king's daughter in marriage, for the service he had done his country by killing the champion of the Philistines³, and who perhaps did not present this monument of his victory, 'till he was in circumstances to enable him to do it with the requisite magnificence, if the other part of the spoils of Goliath had nothing fit

¹ 1 Sam. 21. 9.

² Lady M. W. Montague's Lett. vol. 2, p. 91; again p. 159.

³ And thus their *sacred books* are wont to be wrapped up in a rich case of brocaded silk, or some such rich materials, Arab. Nights, vol. 2, N° 64, &c.

for that purpose? If any part of his dress was sufficiently magnificent, it might have appeared, we may believe, to this young Jewish hero, the most proper thing to wrap up the sword in¹.

It is certain that embroidery and curious needlework were not unknown to that age and that country: and that such ornamental pieces of work were repositied in the tabernacle²; that the ephod itself was of something of the same kind³; and that such things were given to those that bore a *distinguished* part in gaining a victory⁴. It is by no means then improbable, that the covering of the sword, in which it was wrapped, was some beautiful piece of embroidered work.

If the word meant merely the *scabbard*, which is not so probable, as there were particular words to express that, though there is reason to believe the sword was in some sheath, since otherwise David could not so conveniently have carried it with him; I say, if it meant merely the scabbard in which it was inclosed, it might notwithstanding have been of embroidered work.

¹ So a piece of the coat of James IVth of Scotland, slain at Flodden-field, appeared, to Catharine of Spain, the noblest banner her husband (Henry the VIIIth) could display in his armies when in France. Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. 3, Rec. N° 2, p. 6.

² Exod. 26. 36, 37, ch. 38. 18.

³ Ch. 39. 1, 2,

3, 5.

⁴ Judges 5. 30.

So Mr. Irwin, in the account of his adventures up the Red-Sea, and through Ægypt, tells us, that among other losses he sustained, the new hakem that should have particularly befriended him, besides other articles, oppressively obtained from him *two silk tambour waistcoats, for the purpose, we imagine, of covering his pipes, and the scabbards of his swords*'. They must have seen something of this sort, or they would not have entertained an apprehension of his putting them to that use.

So have I seen, in our country, the sheath of a knife and fork, very curiously covered with rich embroidery of silk of various colours, and gold or silver thread; with strings and tassels of the same materials, for the purpose, I apprehend, of hanging it by the side.

OBSERVATION XCVIII.

The history of the late Ali Bey affords a lively comment on the sacred history of Joseph, not only as to the circumstances of his being stolen away from his native country; his being sold for a slave; his rising in the strange land to which he was carried; his being the governor of all Ægypt; but as to the sending for his father, the *honours* with which he treated him, and the Ægyptians also out of consideration for Joseph.

The particulars I first mentioned have been common to many, and shall be, therefore, but just mentioned; but it may be pleasing to describe the last a little more at large.

At seventeen ¹ Joseph was stolen away ² from his native country, being seized upon and sold, by his own brethren, to strangers who carried him into *Ægypt*: Ali Bey, who was born in the *Lesser Asia*, on the coast of the *Black-Sea*, in the year 1728, was stolen away, as it should seem, by some of his *own countrymen*, while he was amusing himself with *bunting in one of the woods there*, at the age of thirteen, and was carried into *Ægypt*³.

Jacob, who in ancient times lost his young son, was a person of consideration, in the time and place in which he lived, being the grandson of one who was considered as a mighty prince among them⁴, and Jacob lived in much the same style in that same country, though his being of a different religion from the rulers of the country must, without doubt, have diminished his character among them: Ali Bey was the son of a *Greek priest*, a person then of some distinction, but labouring under the disadvantage of being of a different religion from that which prevailed there, and had the countenance of the civil magistrate, for that was the Mohammedan. But

¹ Gen. 37. 2.

² Ch. 40. 15.

³ Hist. of the Revolt of Ali Bey, p. 70.

⁴ Gen. 23. 6.

considerable as the Jewish patriarch and the Greek priest were, they both had the misfortune to lose a son, stolen from them, and each sold for a *slave*.

Both were sold into the *same country*—into Ægypt: both came into the hands of *great people* of that country: and both, by degrees, rose to such an height as to govern that mighty state—Joseph as viceroy of Pharaoh king of Ægypt¹; Ali Bey as *Sbeik Bellet* of Ægypt, the first of the *Beys* of that country, and indeed head of the Ægyptian republic, as it is called by that author, acknowledging no other superior there than the *Pascha*, the representative of the Turkish emperor, and which *Pascha* is rather the *Sbeik Bellet's* superior in *honour and outward form*, than in *real power*.

But what I would chiefly remark, is the *resemblance* that may be observed as to the honours with which they treated their *fathers*, when in this high state and condition. Here it will be sufficient to recite the account this writer gives of *Ali Bey*; the conformity will at once appear, and in a very strong light to those that are well acquainted with the book of Genesis.

Ali, it seems, ordered a person he had occasion to send to *Constantinople*, to transact

¹ Pharaoh said to Joseph, "Thou shalt be over my house, and according to thy word shall all my people be ruled: only in the throne will I be greater than thou. And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, See, I have set thee over all the land of Ægypt." Gen. 41. 40, 41.

some business for him in that city, to find out his father when there, and bring him back with him into *Ægypt*. His agent was successful, and brought him over; and when *Daout*, (or *David*,) which was the name of that Greek priest who was Ali's father, approached *Cairo*, the capital of *Ægypt*, where the *Sheik Bellet* resided, Ali went out of the city, with a numerous retinue, to meet his father, and as soon as he saw him, he *fell on his knees*, and kissed his father's hand. Proceeding afterwards to his palace, *Daout's* feet having been washed by the domestics, "he was led into the *harem*¹, and *Ali Bey* presented to him the princess *Mary*², and her child³.

The author goes on, "The ceremony being over, *Ali Bey* left them, and went to the *divan*⁴, where he received congratulations from the other Beys, and the Janizar Aga. The *Pasha* himself sent his *Kiabaya*⁵ with his congratulations, and requested to see *Daout*, who was soon after introduced to the *Pasha*, and received with great respect, as the father of the *Sheik Bellet*."

I should think every one must be struck with the *resemblance*, and the modern account may serve, it may be, to fill up some *vacuities* in the Jewish history: May we not believe

¹ Or women's apartment.

² Ali's principal wife.

³ P. 85, of the History of Ali.

⁴ The assembly

of Beys, &c, who govern *Ægypt*, of whom the *Sheik Bellet* is the chief.

⁵ Lieutenant.

that

that Jacob's feet were magnificently washed when brought off his journey? That *Asenath*, Joseph's consort, and her two sons, *Manassieh* and *Ephraim*, were presented to him? That he received the congratulatory compliments of the principal Ægyptians on the occasion, notwithstanding the difference of religion between them and Jacob, the Mohammedans of Ægypt being as conceited of the superiority of their religion to that of the Greek church, as the worshippers of the ancient Ægyptian idols could be of the preference due to their religion, when compared with the simple unadorned religion of Jacob, whose family were, we know, an *abomination* to the Ægyptians? It is certain that *Jacob* was presented to *Pharaoh*, as *Daout* was to the *Pascha*, and received with as much respect, at least, since *Jacob* blessed the Ægyptian prince¹. Nor, probably, was Joseph, the ancient *Sheik Bellet* of Ægypt, unattended when he went to meet his father, though the sacred historian simply says, "that Joseph made ready his chariot, and went up to meet Israel his father, to *Goshen*, and presented himself to him²." As *Ali* went out to meet his father with a great and pompous attendance, we may believe *Joseph* paid *Jacob* this honour in his life-time, as we are expressly told he did at his death: "And *Joseph* went up to bury his father; and with him went up all the servants of Pha-

¹ Gen. 46. 34. ² Ch. 47. 7—10. ³ Ch. 46. 29.

"raoh,

“ raoh, the elders of his house, and all the
“ elders of the land of Ægypt’.”

Striking, however, as the resemblance was in many respects, in some points there was a great difference: *Ali Bey*, either by compulsion, or persuasion, or a *mixture* of both, renounced the Christian religion, in which he was educated; Joseph continued firm in that of the Patriarchs: *Jacob* continued in Ægypt to the time of his death; but Daout would not stay there, but returned into his own country: Joseph died in Ægypt in great honour; while Ali experienced a miserable reverse, dying in Ægypt, but in prison, of the wounds which he received in the fatal battle that overwhelmed him. But there are so many particulars in which there is an agreement, that the comparing them together gives a very sensible pleasure to me, and perhaps may to some of my Readers, as there is a very strong resemblance between the *honours* paid by these eminent young personages to their aged parents, and on their account by the Ægyptians and the great men of that country.

OBSERVATION XCIX.

Among us, here in Europe, the distinction between honorary and pecuniary rewards is so great, that we oftentimes can hardly think

’ Gen. 50. 7.

of

of jumbling them together as an acknowledgment of public services; and the same person that would receive the first with emotions of great pleasure, would think himself affronted by one of a pecuniary kind: but it is otherwise in the East, and it was so anciently.

De Tott did many great services to the Turkish empire, in the time of their late war with Russia, and the Turks were disposed to acknowledge them by marks of honour. "His highness, said the first minister," speaking of the Grand Seignior, "has ordered me "to bestow on you this public mark of his "esteem, and, at the same time, made a sign "to the master of the ceremonies to invest "me with the *pelisse*¹; while the hasnadar² "presented me with a *purse* of 200 *sequins*³."

The lively French officer was hurt by the offer of the *sequins*. "I directly turned towards those who had accompanied me, and "shewing them my *pelisse*, I have received, "said I, with gratitude, this proof of the "Grand Seignior's favour; do *you* return "thanks to the Visir *for this purse*; it is his "gift.

¹ Which robe was richly ermined, according to the preceding page.

² Or Treasurer.

³ Mem. tome 3, p. 127. A sequin, according to p. 110, is a gold coin of different values: that most in use is worth 5 s. 10 d. of our money, consequently 200 sequins of this sort were equal to 58 l. 6 s. 8 d. or something more than 55 guineas.

" This

“ This expedient, which I preferred to a
“ discussion of our different customs, was a
“ sufficient lesson to the Visir, at the same
“ time that it disengaged me from the em-
“ barrasment of *Oriental politeness*.”

He then in a note adds, “ This Turkish
“ custom of giving money occasioned the
“ greatest mortification to M. de Bonneval,
“ that a man, like him, could receive. The
“ ambassador extraordinary, from the empe-
“ ror, who in the Austrian army had been
“ in an inferior station to the refugee, dined,
“ as is customary, with the Visir. The
“ Porte had chosen Kiathana¹ for the place
“ of this entertainment. M. de Bonneval
“ had orders to repair thither with the corps
“ of bombardiers, of which he was com-
“ mander. When the exercise was over, he
“ was sent for by the Visir, who gave him
“ *an handful of sequins*, which his situation
“ obliged him to accept, with submission.”

Just thus we find *Joab* would have re-
warded an Israelitish soldier of his army, in
the days of King David, who saw Absalom
hanging in a tree: “ Why didst thou not
“ smite him there to the ground, and I
“ would have given thee *ten shekels of silver*,
“ and a *girdle*?” 2 Sam. xviii. 11. The
girdle would have been an honorary reward,
like de Tott’s *ermine vest*; the ten shekels
(or half-crowns) would have been a pecu-

¹ A place in the outskirts of Constantinople.

niary recompense, like the 200 sequins de Tott disdained to receive.

I may add, that as a furred robe, in general, is no distinguishing badge of dignity, for it may be worn by wealthy people in private life, who can bear the expence; so there is no ground to suppose, Joab's giving a girdle to that soldier would have been conferring some military honour, somewhat like knight-ing him, as, if I misremember not, some have imagined: it would have been *simply a valuable present*, and enabling him in after-time to appear with such a girdle as the rich wore, instead of the girdle of a peasant, but united with the consciousness and the reputation of it's being acquired by doing some public service, and not the mere effect of being descended from a wealthy family.

The apparatus some of the Eastern people make use of to gird themselves with is very mean. The common Arabs, according to de la Roque, use a *girt* adorned with leather; and their women make use of a *cord*, or *strip of cloth*: but some of the Arab girdles are very rich, according to this writer¹. The girdle Joab proposed to give, was doubtless designed by him to be understood to be one of such value, as to be answerable to the supposed importance of the service he wished the man had performed, as well as his own dignity.

¹ Voy. dans la Pal. ch. 16, p. 211, &c.

So Symon Simeonis, an Irish traveller to the Holy-Land, in the year 1322, tells us, *that the Saracens of Ægypt rarely, if ever, girded themselves with any thing but a towel, on which they kneeled to say their prayers, except their people of figure, who wore girdles like those of ladies, very broad, all of silk, and very richly adorned with silver and gold, in which they extremely pride themselves*¹.

I cannot well finish this article without remarking, from what the French baron says concerning himself, what strong disagreeable impressions, of an erroneous kind, may be made upon the mind of an European at the offering some of the Asiatic presents, which are not only not affronting in their views, but designed to do those honour to whom they are presented, since de Tott could not get the better of it, though he perfectly knew the innocency of the intention, and had resided long enough, one would have thought, in the country, to have destroyed the impression. Is it any wonder then, that St. Jerome, as well as some modern readers, have found themselves disgusted at the proposal of Saul's servant, to present the fourth part of a shekel of silver to Samuel the prophet, and

¹ Itin. p. 29. Saraceni autem raro vel nunquam cinguntur nisi tualia, quam cum oratum vadunt coram se extendunt, exceptis nobilibus et equitibus, qui cingulis cinguntur ad dominarum modum, latis et de serico totaliter factis, auro et argento nobilissime ornatis, in quibus summe gloriantur.

the judge of Israel, when they designed waiting upon him to beg some direction, of which I have given an account in a preceding volume^{*}?

OBSERVATION C.

I do not know that any method can be taken, to repress that *petulant delicacy* with regard to Eastern gifts, which the Baron de Tott expressed in the passage cited in the last article, where he gives us an account of his receiving the robe with gratitude, but rejected the 200 sequins, in such a manner as might teach the Vizir no more to offer him such an affront; as well as to correct the unhappy representations persons have been ready to make, of some of the presents mentioned in Scripture, than to compare them with some things of the like kind in *former ages* in our own country. Such a comparison may be useful to persuade us to abate somewhat of that petulance, and not to pretend to put that construction on the managements of *other countries*, or *other times*, which is formed merely on our own usages.

We are ready decidedly to condemn the giving *small sums of money* to great personages by way of present, or things of *little value*. We consider such managements as affronting;

^{*} Vol. 2, ch. 6, obs. 1.

they

they were consistent with respect, even the deepest respect, in other countries, and in our own too, in former times.

I would begin with what passed in *Ireland*, a part of our own country, some centuries backward. The *Countess of Moira*, in a paper published in the 7th vol. of the *Archæologia*, (or the *Transactions of the Antiquarian Society*,) tells us, that when the *monarch of Ireland*¹ called the *king of Ulster* to the field, or to a public assembly, he gave him 10 ships, 11 cups, (whether of silver or of wood we are not told,) 50 horses, 50 swords, 50 large robes, 50 coats of mail, 50 mantles, 50 *knives*, 10 greyhounds, 20 *handfuls of leeks*, and 20 *swan eggs*, p. 100, note. The ships, the swords, the coats of mail, &c, we would readily admit were proper presents from the monarch to a subordinate prince and ally, but is there any thing more laughable in any of the Eastern presents than the 20 handfuls of *leeks*, to which perhaps may be added the twenty *swan's eggs*?

But Ireland may be imagined to have been much more uncivilized than England; let us then run over the list Hume has given us in his *History of England*, from the *History of the Exchequer* by Madox, which I had an

¹ For they had several kingdoms then in Ireland, as we had seven in England in the time of the Saxons, one king being chosen as chief over the rest, called the *monarch*, as was the usage among the Saxons of England.

opportunity of consulting, as to most of the articles, and found Hume's account just. There, among other things, we shall find 3 *Flemish caps*; 2 robes of good green¹; the promise of as many *lampreys* as a man could get²; 10 marks and 3 hawks³; 10 bulls and 10 cows⁴; 200 hens by a good woman to have access to her husband who was in confinement. How despicable in our eyes! Hume also mentions an 100 shillings; 10 dogs; 20 lampreys; and 20 shads; and that the catalogue might be enlarged.

But these things were many ages ago. Let us come nearer our own times. Queen Elizabeth was indisputably a *great princess*, and affected *great magnificence*, yet we find her receiving sums of money, and so low as 10 pounds for new-years gifts; and from some people trinkets, and other trifles. One presented her with a pot of green ginger, and another of orange-flowers, a second with a marchpane, and a third with a pye oringed⁵. To which may be added, that a gentleman has assured me, that there is a story in the beginning of the Sidney papers, of Queen Elizabeth's putting into her pocket after dinner, at a place where she was visiting, *an agate-handled knife and fork*, (after having had many things given her before during her visit,) which pock-

¹ History of the Exchequer, p. 332.

² P. 333-

³ P. 329.

⁴ P. 319.

⁵ Archæol. vol. 1, p. 10.

eting the knife and fork was thought an *especial mark of her graciousness.*

Shall we not, after this, be disposed to make great allowances for some of the gifts mentioned by travellers into the East, and particularly for some found in the sacred history? The usages of other countries, and former times, must be expected greatly to differ from those of our own.

The reflexion Mr. Hume makes, on that list of presents to our ancient princes, is extremely sensible; and as coming from one that was by no means prejudiced in favour of the Scripture, account of persons and things, deserves the more notice. It is as followeth.

“ It appears that the ancient kings of England put themselves entirely on the foot of the barbarous *Eastern princes*, whom no man must approach *without a present*, who sell all their good offices, and who intrude themselves into every business, that they may have a pretence for extorting money.”

He afterwards added: “ It will however be just to remark, that the same ridiculous practices and dangerous abuses prevailed in Normandy, and probably in all the other states of Europe. England was not in this respect more barbarous than it's neighbours.”

¹ Vol. 2, p. 131.

² P. 134, 135.

OBSERVATION CI.

When the wise son of *Sirach* supposes, that the contumelious refusing to make a friendly exchange of presents with other people, is a just ground of shame, he seems to refer to that mutual accepting and offering presents which is now so common in these countries, and probably was so anciently, and which is esteemed such an essential part of friendliness of temper. "Be ashamed—of scorning to give
" and take."

A mutual exchange of kind offices, and even of little *presents*, is among us considered as an amiableness, and the contrary as an hoggishness that one ought to be ashamed of; but these feelings appear to be much more lively in the Eastern world, and it should seem were so when the book entitled *Ecclesiasticus* was written.

Especially if we consider this book as drawn up in *Ægypt*¹, and attend to *Maillet's* account of the use of presents in that country. "There is no nation in the world, where
" presents are more used than in this, especially on occasion of *death* or *marriages*....
" It is practised in the marriages of *Christians*
" as well as of *Jews*, upon going in *pilgrimage* to *Jerusalem*, or to *Mecca*, and more

¹ See the prologue of the Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach.

" particularly

“ particularly on a *return* from thence. It is
“ farther practised at the time of the *baptism*
“ of Christians, and of the *circumcision* of the
“ Turks, which are the principal ceremonies
“ of the two religions. It is true, that there
“ is no dishonour attends the receiving these
“ presents, for a return never fails of being
“ made on the like occasions. Finally, it is
“ above all made use of at the times of *visit-*
“ *ing* each other, which is very frequently
“ in the course of the year, and which are
“ always preceded by presents of *fowls, sheep,*
“ *rice, coffee, and other things* of the like
“ nature¹.”

This last article is very different from the usages that obtain in Europe, but shows their great use in the intercourses of social life in *Ægypt*.

In his last letter² he takes notice of the presents made to the conductor of the pilgrims going to Mecca, and says, that during his continuance at Cairo, after his entering upon his office in form, “ there are none of
“ his friends, none of the rich men, or people of consideration at Cairo, but what
“ make him a present of *eatables*, that may
“ be of use to him in his journey; so that
“ he has no occasion to be at much expence
“ in providing for what may be wanting in
“ the desert. However this is only advanc-

¹ Descript. de l’*Ægypte*, let. 11, p. 137.

² Let. dern. p. 227.

“ ing fums of money, which he takes care
 “ to repay at his return. Accordingly, that
 “ he may not be duped by this interested kind
 “ of generosity, he keeps an exact register of
 “ all the presents that have been made him,
 “ that he may make a return precisely of the
 “ same value, and no more, to those from
 “ whom he received them.”

It is certain that there can be little virtue in *such* an intercourse, however it may be customary, and therefore hardly worthy of the notice of this *very moral* Jewish writer. I would therefore set down the following paragraph, which it is to be imagined better coincides with what the *son of Sirach* had in view. “ It must however be acknowledged
 “ that the *Turks* and the *Arabs* are very liberal on these occasions, and that they inspire them to act in a *very noble and generous manner*, which appears not to have
 “ the least of that sordid interestedness with which they are justly reproachable in every thing else. It is sufficient to be merely
 “ the neighbour of one that is going in pilgrimage to Mecca, to engage him to send a present, as soon as he is told of it. It is
 “ true also, that this present never fails of having an equivalent return made, if the
 “ person survives the journey, and his circumstances will admit of it. But if he
 “ finds himself in such a state as not to be well able to do it, the *least trifle*, if not
 “ worth three pence, will be received with
 “ pleasure,

“ pleasure, and they are perfectly satisfied
“ with the smallest token of gratitude and re-
“ membrance.” This enables us very perfectly to apprehend the thought of this passage of Ecclesiasticus : a readiness to receive every token of respect that appears to come from the heart, and to make all the return true gratitude mingled with discretion will admit of.

The custom also at first might, and probably did arise from beneficence, though in time it might become little better than traffick.

OBSERVATION CII.

Biddulph, the chaplain to the English factory at Aleppo in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was greatly surpris'd at observing, that the women in the Holy-Land used instruments of music in their lamentations, and that before the melancholy event happened to which their wailing referred¹; he would have been equally surpris'd, I imagine, if he had met the companions of the daughter of Jephthah, while she wandered up and down the mountains *bewailing her virginity*.

“ While I was at ² *Saphetta*,” says this traveller, “ many Turks departed from thence

¹ Collection of Voyages and Travels from the Earl of Oxford's Library, vol. 1, p. 814. ² Saphet in Galilee.

“ towards *Mecca* in Arabia. And the same
 “ morning they went, we saw many women
 “ playing with timbrels as they went along
 “ the streets, who made a yelling or shriek-
 “ ing noise as if they cried. We asked what
 “ they meant in so doing? It was answered
 “ us, that they mourned for the departure of
 “ their husbands, who were gone that morn-
 “ ing on pilgrimage to *Mecca*, and they feared
 “ that they should never see them again, be-
 “ cause it was a long way, and dangerous,
 “ and many died there every year. It seemed
 “ strange to us, that they should mourn with
 “ music about the streets, for music is used
 “ in other places *at times of mirth*, and not
 “ at times of mourning¹.”

The circumstances were considerably alike, though not exactly *similar*.—The female relations and friends, in both cases, lamented those that were dear to them, though not *at that time* dead, yet supposed to be in great danger of *death*; but the bewailing the daughter of Jephthah must be supposed to have been much the more bitter, as her danger must have been apprehended to have been greater than that of the people of Saphetta, that had to travel through the deserts of Arabia, for many of those pilgrims return. Both arose from *religious* considerations; but ill-directed in both cases. In both, it should seem, they

¹ This gentleman seems to have forgotten the manner in which the daughter of *Jairus* was lamented, Matt. 9. 23,

were lamented in melancholy *processions*, and with *mournful music*.

OBSERVATION CIII.

The ancient Greeks, we are told¹, used to place their dead *near the doors of their houses*, and to attend them there *with mourning*: the same custom still continues among the Greeks; and might, perhaps, obtain among the *ancient Jews*.

Dr. Richard Chandler observed the continuance of this custom among the people of the first nation, when he was lately travelling in Greece. A woman was sitting, he tells us, at *Megara*, “with the *door of her cottage open*, lamenting her dead husband *aloud*.” And again he tells us, that when he was at *Zante*, he saw “a woman in an *house, with the door open*, bewailing her *little son, whose body lay by her, dressed, the hair powdered, the face painted and bedecked with leaf-gold*.”

The decorating *the forehead and the cheeks* of a Grecian bride with leaf-gold, which he mentions p. 135, appears to us odd; the adorning a corpse after this manner may appear more strange: nor do I recollect any allusion to this custom among the Jews in the Old

¹ Potter's Antiq. book 4, ch. 3.

² Travels in Greece, p. 195.

³ P. 300.

Testament;

Testament ; but as the *weeping for Tammuz* is described by the prophet Ezekiel¹, as performed *near a door* of the Temple, perhaps with a view to the custom of mourning near the door among the *Syrians*, as well as the *Greeks* ; so Abraham's *coming to mourn for Sarab, and to weep for her*, (Gen. xxiii. 2,) seems to mean his coming from his own tent, and seating himself on the ground *near the door of hers*, where her corpse was placed, in order to the performing those public solemn rites of mourning, which decency, as well as affection, led him to. A paper in the 5th volume of the *Archæologia*, relating to patriarchal customs, takes some notice of this circumstance, but without observing that it seems to be an early rite of mourning, which *continuing* among the *Greeks*, remains among their descendants to this very time.

When Dorcas, the good woman of Joppa, died, she indeed, after having been washed, was placed, we are told, in an upper room², consequently in a private and retired apartment ; but it is to be remembered they did not suppose her irrecoverably gone, since they sent to St. Peter, under the hope that he might, as he afterwards actually did, raise her up to life. In such a state, it would not have agreed with their other management, to place her at the door of the house to bewail her death, who they hoped, by a speedy re-

¹ Ch. 8. 14.

² Acts 9. 37.

resurrection,

urrection, would soon again appear in the land of the living. This placing her then in an upper chamber is no objection to the supposing the people of Syria placed their dead, for the bewailing them, near the doors of their houses, as the Grecians did, and now do.

Perhaps the mourning of Israel *at the door of each of their tents*, in the Wilderness, which so much displeased Moses', was a bewailing their relations, as if actually dead, which they might apprehend would be the sure consequence of their wandering there without any support but manna, but it is by no means a decisive proof.

OBSERVATION CIV.

The cutting off the hair *in mourning for the dead*, is an *Eastern*, as well as a *Grecian* custom; and appears to have obtained in the East in the prophetic times, as well as in later ages.

That it was practised among the *Arabs*, in the 7th century, appears by a passage of d'Herbelot. Khaled ben Valid, ben Mogairah, who was one of the bravest of the Arabs in the time of Mohammed, and surnamed by him, (after Khaled had embraced the new religion he introduced into the world,)

' Numb. II. 10.

the *Sword of God*, died, it seems, under the khalifate of Omar, in the city of Emessa in Syria, and he adds, that there was not a female of the house of Mogaïrah, (who was his grandfather,) either matron or maiden, who caused not her hair to be cut off *at his burial* ¹.

How the hair that was cut off was disposed of doth not appear in d'Herbelot. Among the ancient *Greeks*, it was sometimes laid *upon the dead body*; sometimes cast *into the funeral pile*; sometimes placed *upon the grave* ². Under this variation of management among the *Greeks*, it would have been an agreeable additional circumstance to have been told, how the females of the house of Mogaïrah disposed of *their* hair.

We are equally ignorant of the manner in which the ancient *Jews* disposed of their's, when they cut it off in bewailing the dead. But that they cut it off, upon such occasions, is evident from a passage of the prophet *Jeremiah*, ch. xvi. 6. "Both the great and the "small shall *die* in this land: they shall not "be buried, neither shall ³ *men* lament for

¹ Biblioth. Orient. p. 984.

² Potter's Antiq. of Greece, book 4, chap. 5.

³ It should rather have been translated, Neither shall *they* lament for them. The word *men* is not in the original; the verb is in the third person plural, with the masculine termination indeed, but as to what follows, it doth not appear which sex it was that cut themselves, or made themselves bald, though both might, in general, lament.

" them,

“ them, nor cut themselves, nor *make themselves bald for them.*”

The words do not seem determinately to mean, that those of the *male sex* only were wont to cut themselves, or make themselves bald for the dead; but that there should be no cutting of the flesh made at all for them, no baldness, leaving it uncertain which *sex* had been wont to make use of these rites of mourning, who should then omit them. So the interlinear translation of *Montanus* understands the words.

Both practices seem to have been forbidden by the law of Moses¹; the soft and impreflexible temper of the *female sex* might, it may be imagined, engage them sooner to deviate from the precept, than the firmer disposition of the other. So here we see they were the *females* of the family of Mogairah that cut off their hair on the burial of Khaled: not a word of the men.

And accordingly we find, among the modern Mohammedans, the *outward* expressions at least of mourning are much stronger among the women than the men: The nearest male relations, Dr. Russell tells us², describing their way of carrying a corpse to be buried, immediately follow it, “ and the *women* close the procession *with dreadful shrieks*, while the men all the way are singing prayers out of the Koran.—The *women* go to the tomb

¹ Deut. 14. 1.

² Descript. of Aleppo, p. 116, 118.

“ every

“ every Monday or Thursday, and carry
 “ some flowers or green leaves to dress it
 “ with. *They* make a great show of grief,
 “ often expostulating heavily with the dead
 “ person, “ Why he should leave them, when
 “ they had done every thing in their power
 “ to make life agreeable to him ?” This,
 “ however, *by the men* is looked upon as a
 “ kind of impiety ; and, if overheard, they
 “ are *chid severely for it* : and I must say the
 “ *men* generally set them a good example in
 “ this respect, by a patient acquiescence in
 “ the loss of their nearest relations, and in-
 “ deed shew a *firm and steady fortitude* under
 “ every other kind of misfortune.”

OBSERVATION CV.

One of the rites of mourning for the dead,
 among the Jews of Barbary, mentioned by
 Dean Addison in his account of that people,
 seems to be a very odd one, yet is unques-
 tionably a custom of very ancient date among
 them : what I mean is the *muffling up the*
jaws, after the same manner as the lower part
 of the face of a corpse is bound up.

“ They return from the grave,” says the
 Dean, “ to the house of the deceased, where
 “ one, who as chief mourner receives them,
 “ with his jaws tied up with a linen cloth,
 “ *after the same manner that they bind up the*
 “ *dead*. And by this the mourner is said to
 “ testify

“ testify that he was ready to die with his
“ friend. And thus muffled the mourner
“ goes for *seven* days; during which time
“ the rest of his friends come twice every
“ twenty-four hours to pray with him’.”

As the mourning for seven days was a custom of remote antiquity; so it should seem was this *muffling the mouth* in their mourning for the dead. Thus Ezekiel, when his wife died, and he was commanded to abstain from the *usual forms of mourning*, was not to *cover his lips*: “ Forbear to cry, make no mourning for the dead, bind the tire of thine head upon thee, and put on thy shoes upon thy feet, and *cover not thy lips*, and eat not the bread of men,” Ezek. xxiv. 17².

The present mode among the Jews of *Barbary* certainly explains what is meant by covering the lips, or the mouth, in Ezekiel, whether the interpretation put upon the practice by the Dean, be right, or not—it’s being designed as a testimony, that the party so muffled up was *ready to die with his friend*.

The same rite was to be made use of by the leper, when pronounced such by the Jewish priest, Lev. xiii. 45. And the *leper* in whom “ the plague is, his clothes shall be rent, and his head bare, and he shall put a *covering upon his upper lip*, and shall cry, Unclean, unclean.” It is no wonder he was to be muffled up *like a corpse*, for he was *unclean as*

* P. 218, 219.

² See also ver. 22, 23.

a corpse,

a corpse, and was considered as a person *half dead*. So when Aaron interceded for his sister Miriam, who was struck with the leprosy, he said, "Let her not be as one dead; of whom the flesh is half consumed, when he cometh out of his mother's womb¹."

Whether this mode of mourning was dropped in the country where the Septuagint Interpreters of the Old Testament lived, or not, may be uncertain; but they have dropped this circumstance of Jewish mourning out of their translation: making the clause signify, not the covering the lips of the mourner, but the mourner's being comforted by the lips of others.

OBSERVATION CVI.

Addison's account of the modern mourning of the Jews of Barbary, mentions another *point of resemblance*, between their mourning in late times and that practised in the days of Ezekiel.

In Barbary "the relations of the deceased,

¹ Numb. 12. 12. It was extremely natural to express the putrefaction of the body, smitten with the leprosy, rather by the corruption that had taken place in a still-born child, dead a considerable time; than by that of a corpse kept long unburied, or visited after having laid long in the earth: for the first they must frequently have seen; but as to the two last, they buried immediately, and for fear of defilement, according to their law, would not easily be induced to take up a body that had been buried any time.

" for

“ for seven days after the interment, stir not
“ abroad ; or if by some extraordinary occa-
“ sion they are forced to go out of doors,
“ it is *without shoes* ; which is a token with
“ them, that they have lost a dear friend ¹.”

The Reader will recollect, when the prophet Ezekiel was commanded to abstain from the rites of mourning, he was ordered to put his *shoes on his feet*.

It is supposed in Ezekiel, that they went bare-headed, as well as with bare feet, in their mourning, but the Dean has said no-thing upon that head in his account ; I would however take a little notice of it, as it should seem that the custom of the country in which the prophet resided, in the time of the captivity, differed from that of the country where the Seventy Interpreters dwelt. For the prophet, according to our translation, was to bind *that tire of his head upon him*, which, it seems, they wore in common, or in times of prosperity and consolation ; whereas the Seventy explain the order as signifying he *should wear*, as usual, *the hair of his head pleasingly adjusted*, without any other covering of the head. The custom of their country too seems to have differed from that of Job's, for he *shaved his head*, when he mourned the loss of his children ², the consummation, as

¹ P. 218.

² Job. I. 20. *Then Job arose, and rent his mantle, and shaved his head, and fell down upon the ground, and worshipped.*

he might then apprehend, of his afflictions ; whereas the Seventy Interpreters supposed in mourning they *wore their hair*, only in a rough entangled state, Οὐκ εἶσαι τὸ τριχῶμα σὺ συμπεπλεγμένον ἐπὶ σε, ver. 17, that is, “ Thy hair “ shall not be plaited on thee.”

Turbants are now, though with some variety in their forms¹, worn very generally in the East. When that mode began it may be difficult precisely to say, but they seem to have been in use as early as the days of Ezekiel, in *some* of the Eastern countries, and the putting on the tire of his head means, I should suppose, putting on his turbant, instead of going bare-headed like a mourner.

To sum up the whole of what I have been saying upon this subject, in few words : In the age and country of Job, they seem in common to have worn simply their hair without any other covering on their heads ; and when they mourned, to have shaved it off. The *Greeks* did the same. In the age and country in which Ezekiel lived, when he received this order, the head seems to have been always shaved, but covered in times of ease and satisfaction with a turbant, or something of

¹ They all are formed of a cap of different shapes and colours, worn on the crown of the head, surrounded at the edge with a long narrow strip of silk or linen of different colours, and artfully wrapped about in different forms of convolution, according to the different nations, religions, professions, offices, and classes in life, to which the wearers respectively belong.

that kind ; which was taken off in times of mourning, and the head left as bare as that of Job. In the age and country in which the Seventy Interpreters lived, it should seem, that the head was not shaved at all, but the hair worn in a more ornamental and pleasing manner in common ; and left to grow at length, uncombed, and in a very disordered state, in a time of mourning.

Answerable to this, if these Interpreters lived in Ægypt, I have somewhere read, though I cannot now point out the passage, that the skull of a Persian could be distinguished from that of an Ægyptian, in a generation or two after the time of the prophet Ezekiel, by their different thickneses, or degrees of hardness, arising from one nation's going bare-headed, and the other with a thick covering on the head. So thick indeed, that Sir John Chardin informs us, in the French edition of his Travels, that a modern Persian turban weighs twelve or fifteen pounds *. The lightest half as much.

This is one circumstance out of many, which show the great freedom of that translation, which however has this agreeableness attending it, that it gives us an account of some circumstances, relating to the ancient Ægyptians, which might else have been lost ; and also sometimes determines the meaning

* Tome 2, p. 51. He explains in the same page what occasions their being so heavy.

of an Hebrew expression, which otherwise would have been very dubious.

The whole of the divine order on this occasion to Ezekiel seems to be this, *Thou shalt not cry out with the same vehement noises as are usual among the mourners of thy country*¹; *thou shalt not weep with bitter sobbings; thou shalt not even suffer tears at all to appear. On the contrary, be silent, and assume none of the common forms of mourning: put on thy turbant as usual; thy shoes on thy feet; muffle not up the lower part of thy face; and eat not the bread of consolation, wont to be prepared by the humane, and sent to those in deep affliction.*

OBSERVATION CVII.

It is not only a difficulty to a *common reader*, but the *learned* themselves seem to be perplexed about the meaning of that prohibition of the law of Moses, contained in the latter part of the first verse of the 14th of Deuteronomy, “Ye shall not cut yourselves, nor “make any baldness between your eyes for the “dead;” but it seems to be clearly explained by a passage of *Chardin*, as to it’s *expressing sorrow*, though it is probable the *idolatrour-*

¹ As was done by the ancient people that saw the foundations of the second temple laid, and recollected the splendor of the first, Ezra 3. 12.

ness of the practice may, at this distance of time, be irrecoverably lost in oblivion.

Sir John tells us', "that black hair is
" most esteemed among the *Persians*, as well
" on the head, as on the eye-brows, and in
" the beard. That the largest and thickest
" eye-brows are the most beautiful, especially
" when they are of such a size as to *touch one*
" *another*. The Arab women have the most
" beautiful eye-brows of this sort. The
" Persian women, when they have them
" not of this colour, tinge them, and rub
" them with black to make them the lar-
" ger. They also make, in the lower part of
" the forehead, a little below the eye-brows,
" a black spot, in form of a lozenge, not
" quite so large as the nail of the little fin-
" ger," which, it should seem, by a subsequent
expression, is not of a lasting nature, but
quickly wears off.

These notions of beauty, if I am not much mistaken, differ very much from those of the ladies of *Europe*. None of them, I think, are fond of having their eye-brows meet; but on the contrary take pains to keep the separation between them very distinct.

But if the Eastern people are of a different opinion, it is not at all surprising, that at the same time that they laid aside the hair of their heads, with their more artificial ornaments, in a time of mourning, they

* Tome 2, p. 52, 53.

should make a space *bald between their eyes* too, *since* it was their pride to have them meet when in a joyful state, and even to join them with a black perishable spot, rather than have any interruption appear between the eye-brows.

But as the sacred writers admitted the making their heads bald in mourning, while Moses forbids not only idolatrous cuttings of the flesh, but this making the space bald between the eye-brows, it should seem there was something of idolatroufness in this too, as well as in those cuttings, though it is not easily made out.

After this circumstance, relating to Eastern beauty, is known, the *addition* to Bishop Patrick's account of the heathens being wont to *shave the eye-brows*, in times of mourning, will, I presume, give no pleasure: "Or," says this worthy writer, " (which some think " is the meaning of *between the eyes*) the " hair in the fore-part of their head, or near " the temples, as R. *Solomon* interprets it. " Which seems to be the meaning of the " *Hierusalem Targum*, which translates it, Ye " shall not make any baldness in the house of " *your countenance* '."

† Upon the place.

OBSERVATION CVIII.

Having occasion lately to turn over the latter part of Mr. Pope's translation of the *Iliad*, I was greatly surpris'd to find a passage of St. Matthew strangely misunderstood, which relates to the *weepers by profession* that anciently attended funerals, and still do so in the Levant,

" A melancholy choir attend around,
" With plaintive sighs, and musick's solemn sound ;
" Alternately they sing, alternate flow
" Th' obedient tears, melodious in their woe.

Book xxiv. v. 900—903.

The note here is, " This was a custom generally received, and which pass'd from the *Hebrews* to the *Greeks*, *Romans*, and *Asiatics*, There were weepers by profession, of both sexes, who sung doleful tunes round the dead. *Ecclesiasticus* ^{xii.} 5. *When a man shall go into the house of his eternity, there shall encompass him weepers.* It appears from St. *Matthew* xi. 17, that *children* were likewise employed in this office, *Dacier*."

It doth not appear, I think, that *children* were *hired* to mourn at funerals ; and if that

* It should have been *Ecclesiastes*.

could be shown from other places, the passage in *St. Matthew* would by no means prove it, for it is evident our Lord is speaking of the diversions of children—their *imitating* the transactions of maturer life, not of their serious employments. What mourners at a funeral would these children have been, who when their companions began the melancholy music refused to join them, with the usual forms of mourning? This might very naturally happen when they were amusing themselves with *imitating* the mournings at a funeral, or the rejoicings at a wedding, but would have been intolerable if they had been performing a part in real life.

A commentator on *Virgil* might, with almost as good a grace, represent the account of the *Ludus Trojæ*, in the 5th *Æneid*, as the description of a real battle in *Sicily*.

OBSERVATION CIX.

The Eastern people not only lamented with solemnity their dead, upon their departure out of this world, when carried to the grave, and in visits paid from time to time to their sepulchres afterwards, all which usages continue among them, in one form or other, to this day; but they mourn too with public solemnity those that were absent from them when they died, and were buried at a distance from the abode of their relations,

Irwin

Irwin has given us a very amusing account of a mourning of this sort, in a town of Upper Ægypt, which happened to be celebrated there while he was detained in it.

One of the inhabitants of this town of Ghinnah, who was a merchant by profession, being murdered in the desert between Ghinnah and Cofire, in a journey he was making to this last-mentioned place, he tells us, "The tragedy which was lately acted near Cofire, gave birth to a mournful procession of females, which passed through the different streets of Ghinnah, *this morning*, and uttered dismal cries for the death of Mahomet¹. In the center was a female of his family, who carried a naked sword in her hand, to imitate the weapon by which the deceased fell. At sundry places the procession stopped, and *danced around the sword, to the music of timbrels and tabors*. They paused a long time before our house², and some of the women made threatening signs to one of our servants; which agrees with the caution we received to keep within doors. It would be dangerous enough to face this frantic company; whose constant clamour and extravagant gestures give them all the appearance of the female Bacchanals of Thrace, recorded of old." P. 254.

¹ The name of the merchant that was murdered.

² The writer and his companions had been upon very ill terms with him.

This,

This, it seems, was on the 25th of August. On the 27th his journal has these words :
 “ I was awakened before day-break by the
 “ same troop of women, which passed our
 “ house the other day in honour to the me-
 “ mory of Mahomet. Their dismal cries
 “ suited very well with the lonely hour of
 “ the night : and I understand that this
 “ *relic of the Grecian customs* lasts for the
 “ space of seven days ; during which interval
 “ the female relations of the deceased *make a*
 “ *tour through the town, morning and night,*
 “ beating their breasts, throwing ashes on
 “ their heads, and displaying every artificial
 “ token of sorrow,” P. 257, 258.

How Mr. Irwin came to describe this as a relick of *Grecian* customs, it is not for me to say ; but I presume it was not only an unnecessary addition, but an *inaccurate* appropriating to *Greece*, what was common to *many Eastern countries*. Several Greek usages may be supposed to have been introduced into *Ægypt*, after it's conquest by *Alexander*, and the assumption of it's government by the *Ptolemies* ; but the *Arabs* are known to be as little altered by the adoption of *foreign usages* as any nation whatsoever, and this Mahomet was an *Arab*, as were most of the inhabitants of Ghinnah. It is more natural then to believe it an ancient *Arab or Ægyptian* custom, to mourn after this manner for the dead, whose relations had not the opportunity of testifying their regard to them *in their other forms*

forms of mourning, that is, their lamenting with cries, or with music, their departure, presently after their death; their bewailing them, with the assistance of mourning women, trained up in this profession, as they attended them to the grave; and solemnly visiting their tombs, from time to time afterwards.

It should seem, from a passage of Josephus, which the learned have not let pass totally unobserved, that this kind of mourning the *absent dead* was a Jewish custom, for he mentions it as practised by them, at a time when they were so far from being disposed to adopt foreign rites, that they were engaged, with great bitterness, in a war with the heathen nations about them, having refused to suffer the wonted sacrifices to be offered in the Temple for the safety of the Roman emperors, as being of a different religion from themselves.

The passage of Josephus is in the 3d book of his Jewish war: in which he tells us, *that upon the sacking Jotapata, it was reported that he, (who was at that time a great captain among them, as he was afterwards celebrated as an author in the world,) was slain, and that these accounts occasioned very great mourning at Jerusalem, which was many miles off, and in another division of the Jewish country, Jotapata being a city of Galilee.* In describing this mourning at Jerusalem, for Josephus and the people of Jotapata, he says, “there
“ was

“ was mourning in single houses, and in families of kindred, as each of the slain had connexions. Some mourned their guests,” (he meant, I presume, those that had been wont to take up their lodgings at the houses of these mourners, when they came up to Jerusalem, at their sacred feasts;) “ some their relations; others their friends; others their brethren. All Josephus. So that for thirty days there was no cessation of their lamentations in the city. And many hired *pipers*, who led the way in these wailings.”

I should imagine that the passage I have transcribed from Irwin, relating to the mourning of those Ægyptian Arabs, for that merchant that was slain in the desert, furnishes an extreme good note on this passage of Josephus, according to whom it should seem, that single families mourned the death of some; bodies of kindred others; and the city in general Josephus, in solemn mournful processions about Jerusalem, making use of songs of lamentation, and sometimes the additional sound of musical instruments of the melancholy kind, such as were wont to be used in the houses of those that had just expired, of which kind of music we read, Mat-

¹ Καλα μιν γι οικας, καὶ καλα συγγενίας οἱς προσήκων ἢ ἐκαστὸς τῶν ἀπολωλῶτων ἐθρηνεῖτο· καὶ οἱ μὲν ξεῖναι, οἱ δὲ συγγενεῖς, οἱ δὲ φίλοι, οἱ δὲ ἀδελφοὶ ἐθρηνεῖν· τὸν Ἰωσήφον δὲ πάντες· ὥς ἐπὶ τριακοστὴν μὲν ἡμέραν μὴ διαλείπειν τὰς οἰοφυσσεῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει· πλείστοις δὲ μισθωσθῆαι τῆς αὐλητικῆς, οἱ θρηνῶν ἐξήρχον αὐτοῖς.

thew

thew ix. 23, where the same word occurs which appears in Josephus, but is there translated *minstrels*: "When Jesus came into the ruler's house, and saw the *minstrels* and the people making a noise, he said unto them, Give place, for the maid is not *dead*, but sleepeth."

Whether the word minstrel, which our translators have made use of here, is proper or not, I will not take upon me to determine, but would leave that to the gentlemen of the Antiquarian Society. The minstrels of former times are often described as playing upon harps; while the original word used here *certainly* signifies people that played on the pipe, and is accordingly translated *pipers*, Rev. xviii. 22, the only place else in which the original word occurs in the New Testament.

If our old *minstrels* were never employed in the *funeral solemnities* of the times in which they lived, but only on joyous occasions, the impropriety is more striking still.

But be it as it may, to keep to the point I have at present in view, as *mournful music*¹ was

¹ When I say mournful music, I would not be understood to suppose, the sound of the ancient pipe was essentially, or at all times, melancholy. Pipes certainly were made use of on joyous occasions, as well as those that were melancholy, as is evident from the use of the kindred *verb*, Matt. 11. 17, "We have *pipéd* unto you, and ye have not *danced*: we have mourned unto you, and ye have not *lamented*." Where we see the contrary uses to which these pipes of antiquity were put is pointed out: We piped
to

was made use of at Jerusalem, when they mourned the slaughter at Jotapata, as these Ægyptian Arabs did that of Mahomet of Ghinnah; so I think it most natural to suppose, they lamented them in *public processions*,

to you such airs as were played to those that dance, but ye would not dance: we have then tried you with those tunes that are used in times of lamentation, but you would not then act the part of mourners. The words of St. Paul, in 1 Cor. 14. 7, will appear with the greatest energy, if we consider them as signifying, that for want of a due distinction of sounds, those by whom a procession according to the usages of the East should pass, might be at a loss to know whether they should join them with expressions of *gratulation*, or in words of *lamentation*. Irwin has given an instance of such a joining in the latter case, p. 245, where speaking of the singing in a funeral procession, that went by their house, he says, "There was an Arabian merchant on a visit to us, when the funeral went by; and though in company with strangers, he was not ashamed to run to the window, and to join audibly in the devotions of the train." If a pipe was designed to regulate the expressions that were to be made use of, if it gave an uncertain sound, and sometimes seemed to announce a triumph or a wedding, and sometimes a procession on account of the dead, how should a by-stander know how to behave himself? "Even things without life giving sound, whether pipe or harp, except they give a *distinction* in the sounds, how shall it be known what is piped or harped?" how shall a man know what the music is designed to produce: congratulation, or condolence? This is a much stronger sense, than the supposing, if the sounds were irregular, the Apostle meant, it was impossible to tell what dance was intended. In truth, such an explanation would not well agree with the extemporaneousness of Eastern dances, for the hearer of the music might in that case know what was to be done, and all that would follow from it would be, that if the music was irregular, so would the dance be.

as these Arabs did: for how else could it have been known, if it had been only a general noise of weeping and groaning that had been heard in Jerusalem, on this occasion, who they were that they mourned for—that some mourned relations, others friends, but all Josephus? It is surely most likely, that *the mourners went about the streets*, Eccl. xii. 5, declaring by their vehement exclamations whom they lamented. Sometimes only the females of one house forming a mournful procession; sometimes a combination of those of several, united together by relationship; and sometimes a troop of the principal ladies of Jerusalem, from all quarters, and unconnected by blood, or alliance, went about the city, lamenting with bitterness the death of Josephus, the Jotapatene leader. Of which various *processions* many, it should seem, were ennobled, or rendered more solemn, by melancholy music.

If we are disposed to quit Josephus, and turn to the sacred writings, I would ask, whether it is not natural to suppose, that it was after this manner that the Israelites lamented the death of Moses? He was *absent* from them, when he died; neither did *they carry him to the grave*, Deut. xxxiv. 1, 5, 6. But they wept for him in the plains of Moab, with some expressions of sorrow, which after thirty days ceased, ver. 8. These were neither the lamentations wont to be made immediately upon the departure of the dead,

in the house in which the corpse laid ; nor the mourning of a funeral convoy carrying the body to the grave ; nor the after-bemoanings over the sepulchre of the dead : but it should seem to mean processional solemnities of mourning through the camp of Israel, if we are to explain matters by the Arab usages of modern Ægypt, or the customs of the Jews in the time of Josephus.

It is however to be remarked, that the customs of these Ægyptian Arabs and of the Jews differed in one point, that is, the *time* of mourning : the first, according to Irwin, mourning only *seven* days, but the Jews of the time of Josephus thirty, which also obtained in the days of Moses.

The mourning for Aaron, who died not in the camp of Israel, but in mount Hor, Numb. xx. 25—29, might be of the same nature.

It is to be remembered, that both Moses and Aaron were Ægyptians by birth, and Israel were just come out of Ægypt ; it is not at all unnatural then to find a resemblance in their forms of mourning.

This passage too of Josephus may, probably, illustrate the close of the 12th of Zechariah : “ In that day there shall be a *great mourning* in Jerusalem, as the mourning of “ Hadad-Rimmon in the valley of Megidon. And the land shall mourn, every “ family *apart* : the family of the house of “ David *apart*, and their wives *apart* ; the “ family

“ family of the house of Nathan apart, and
“ their wives *apart*; &c. All the families
“ that remain, every family *apart*, and their
“ wives apart.”

Without attending to several questions that might be proposed here, it may be remarked, that it should seem from Josephus, that in very severe and bitter public mourning, there were not only *general processions of lamentation*, but *families apart by themselves* mourned; not only their *private* losses, but bewailed what was of a *public* nature too, and by these more unusual particular lamentations, when the subject was of a public nature, testified the *vehemence* of their sorrow.

In general processions of mourning *decency* might engage people very universally to attend; but when particular families formed extraordinary processions by themselves, such processions expressed vehement emotions of grief, which could not be relieved by general mournings, without special, separate, and distinct testimonies of grief.

This observation accounts for families mourning apart: whether the men's mourning distinct from the women's is designed to be marked out by the prophet here; and if it be, whether it is intended to express, with augmentation, the bitterness of the mourning, must depend on the construction of the particle *and*: “ Every family apart, and their
“ wives apart.” That particle is hardly to be understood, one would think, to be simply

copulative, if we consider, that the *women alone*, of the family of that Ægyptian Arab that Irwin speaks of, went about Ghinnah, in mournful processions, the men not appearing in those several *modern* solemn lamentations; and that the Old Testament itself speaks of women, as more frequently appearing in the character of *mourners in public*, than the men. It's meaning then is, I should apprehend, either explanatory, and equivalent to *namely*, or some such word, and so the passage would signify each family, that is, the *women* of it shall mourn apart; or, as I much rather am inclined to believe, the particle is to be understood as signifying *as well as* : the family of the house of David apart, as well as their wives apart, &c.

So it expresses the unusualness of *public mourning* by the men, compared with the appearing of the women in that character; as the mourning *apart* also expresses bitterness of grief. And thus an apocryphal writer understood the mourning for Josiah to be by the men, as well as the women, 1 Esdras i. 32 : “ In all Jewry they mourned for Josias, “ and the *chief men* with the women made “ lamentation for him unto this day : and “ this was given out for an ordinance to be “ done continually in all the nation of Is-

* So Noldius observes it is sometimes equivalent to *nempe, nimirum*, (Sig. 38;) but he remarks it sometimes signifies *sicut, quemadmodum*, (Sig. 62.)

“ rael.”

“ rael.” The *men* in the Levant now are seldom, I think, spoken of as going to the sepulchres of the dead to *weep and wail* there ; and even when they attend a corpse to the grave to be buried, express great calmness and *composure* ¹ ; but as to this last particular, it appears to have been different anciently, from what is said 2 Sam. iii. 31, 32, 33, 34. “ David said to Joab, and to all the people “ that were with him, Rent your clothes, “ and gird you with sackcloth, and mourn “ before Abner. And King David himself “ followed the bier. And they buried Abner “ in Hebron : and the king lift up his voice, “ and wept at the grave of Abner ; and all “ the people wept. And the king lamented “ over Abner, and said, Died Abner as a fool “ dieth? &c. And all the people wept again “ over him.” Perhaps also as to the going to the grave to mourn, the men might anciently, on some occasions, repair thither ; for many of the Jews attended Mary when she went to weep, as they apprehended, at the grave of her brother Lazarus ². But public mourning of the men was, undoubtedly, much less frequent than among the women ; though, it may be, more common than in later times.

Before I dismiss this article, it may not be improper to beg my Reader to consider, whe-

¹ Ruffell, p. 116, 118 ; and Shaw, p. 219.

² John 11. 31.

ther the words of Jeremiah, in the second chapter of his Lamentations¹, may not be to be understood after the same manner : “ Arise, “ cry out in the night : in the beginning of “ the watches pour out thine heart like water “ before the face of the Lord : lift up thy “ hands towards him, for the life of thy young “ children, that faint for hunger on the top “ of every street.”

The clause translated *for the life* of thy young children that faint may signify, I apprehend, *on account of the loss of the life of thy young children*. If it was for the *saving their lives*, the supplication might as well have been presented by day, as by night ; but if it means *mourning their deaths*, the night season, and in particular the first watch of the night, was a proper time for that kind of mourning, according to the present usage of the women of Ghinnah.

The following part of the description of Lam. ii. of those that *laid in the streets*, represents them as slain ; the lying of children in the streets should, in like manner, one would think, be designed to express their lying *dead* there for want of food, as those grown up laid there slain by the sword. More especially when we find they are described, in a preceding verse, as *swooning as the wounded in the streets*, which *swooning was unto death*. The equivocalness, at least, of the expression

¹ Ver. 19.

will appear, if the words be translated, literally, from the Hebrew, lift up thy hands towards him “over the souls of thy young children.” It appears from a drawing in the second tome of le Bruyn, representing the mourning of the women of Ramah at the tombs of their dead relations, that lifting up their hands on high was one posture into which they threw themselves. And as the word translated *cry out*, signifies much more frequently *singing* than crying, it should seem not at all improbable, that Jeremiah refers here to such modes of mourning as were observed by Irwin at Ghinnah.

OBSERVATION CX.

The people of *these countries* are wont to be carried to their graves, not only with violent wailings of the *female part* of the funeral convoy; but with *devout singing of the male part of it*: this last seems to be referred to in the Scriptures, as well as the first, though seldom, if ever, mentioned in the writings of those that have explained them.

Dr. *Russell* has mentioned this devout singing of the male part of the attendants when a corpse is carrying to the grave. “When the “corpse is carried out, a number of *Sheiks*’,

¹ A sort of people among them supposed to possess great sanctity.

“ with their tattered banners, walk first; next
 “ come the male friends; and after them the
 “ corpse, carried with the head foremost upon
 “ men’s shoulders. The bearers are relieved
 “ very often, for every passenger thinks it
 “ meritorious to lend some little help on such
 “ solemn occasions. The nearest male rela-
 “ tions immediately follow, and the women
 “ close the procession with dreadful shrieks,
 “ while the men all the way are *singing pray-
 “ ers* out of the Koran¹.”

Mr. *Irwin*, I remember, mentions the like singing, as observed by him at *Ghinnab*, in *Upper Ægypt*.

There is so much resemblance, according to Dr. *Russell*, between the Mohammedans, Christians, and Jews in the East, as to their nuptial observances and burial ceremonies, that it is natural to suppose *this singing is common to all*. It is not however a mere conclusion, drawn from what the *Mohammedans* practise; Dean Addison has expressly told us he found it practised *by the Jews of Barbary*.

“ The corpse is born by four to the place
 “ of burial, in this procession: in the first
 “ rank march the *Chachams* or priests, next
 “ to them the kindred of the deceased, after
 “ whom come those that are invited to the
 “ funeral; and *all singing* in a sort of plain
 “ song the 49th *Psalms*. And if it lasts not

¹ Descript. of Aleppo, p. 116.

“ ’till they come to the grave, they begin it again¹. ”

The Dean tells us, “ It may not be unfit to observe, that though the modern ceremonies of burial are neither so numerous or costly as those of old among the *Jews*; yet they *do not much vary* from them : for the *washing the body* was in use at the time of *Tabitha’s death*²; and the *chief mourner* spoken of before, as also the *weekly lamenting* of the dead, refers to the *women hired* to lament at burials : and which the Scripture calls *mourning-women*, *Jerem. ix. 17*, the same with the *præficæ* among the *Romans*. They likewise agree in the places of burial, which are now, as formerly, *without the towns* or cities where they live, except that in *Fez* they have a burying-place within the city, adjoining to the *Juderia*, or the part where they live³. ”

Other writers have given an account of *mourning-women’s* being retained in the East⁴; but

¹ Pref. State of the Jews, p. 218.

² Acts 9. 37.

³ P. 220.

⁴ So the Abbot Mascricer tells us, from the papers of M. Maillet, that not only do the relations and female friends, in *Ægypt*, surround the corpse, while it remains unburied, with the most bitter cries, scratching and beating their faces so violently as to make them bloody, and black and blue, but, “ to render the hubbub more complete, and do the more honour to the dead person, whom they seem to imagine to be very fond of noise, those of the lower class of people are wont to call in, on these occasions, *certain women* who play on tabors, and whose

but the instances Dean Addifon has given, as proofs of the continuance of that custom in these countries, do not seem to me to be happily chosen: the *chief mourner*, who receives them with his jaws tied up with a linen cloth, after the same manner as they bind up the

“ business it is to sing mournful airs to the sound of this
 “ instrument, which they accompany with a thousand dis-
 “ tortions of their limbs, as frightful as those of people
 “ possessed by the devil. These women attend the corpse
 “ to the grave, intermixed with the female relations and
 “ friends of the deceased, who commonly have their hair
 “ in the utmost disorder, like the frantic Bacchanalian
 “ women of the ancient heathens, their heads covered
 “ with dust, their faces daubed with indigo, or at least
 “ rubbed with mud, and howling like mad people. This
 “ way of bewailing the dead has obtained even among the
 “ Christians of Ægypt. I myself have seen a young wo-
 “ man here, who was a Catholic, and who, having lost
 “ her mother, who had resided in the quarter of the Franks,
 “ sent for these tabor-players to come and lament her.
 “ Scarcely could the *Capuchins* prevail upon her to dismiss
 “ these *Mohammedan* women, who were wont to sing on
 “ such occasions.” Let. 10, p. 89*. What this writer
 says shows the attachment of the Eastern people to this
 custom, since the *Capuchins* of Grand Cairo, who with
 some other religious orders that are settled there, and with
 great zeal are said by him to labour for the propagation of
 the Roman faith, had so much ado to prevail on one of
 their own church, not to employ *Mohammedan* hired
mourners to lament her deceased parent, instead of recur-
 ring to those good fathers to sing a *Requiem* to her soul, ac-
 cording to the papal mode. We protestants may suppose
 the singing of the one as efficacious as that of the other,
 and the motives of the one as pure and disinterested as
 those of the other; but this conduct of a member of the
 Romish communion, for some time obstinately persisted in,
 shows the great force of the custom, and consequently the
 universality of the practice among other people there.

dead,

dead, appears to have been one of the nearest relations, not one *hired* to personate another in affliction ; as those that go now every week, (and I may add, often more frequently,) certainly are not *hired* people, but relations, that go to weep there, as Mary the sister of Lazarus was supposed by the Jews to design to do, when she rose up hastily, and went out of the town, where Jesus indeed was, but near to which place was also the grave of her brother, John xi. 31.

And as the *Jews now*, as well as the Mohammedans, are wont to carry their dead to the grave with *devout singing*, it cannot be unlikely that it was the common custom in the East anciently, for hymns to be sung by the more sedate part of the company, as for the female relations, with their hired companions the singing-women, to make use of very violent lamentations. It is admitted by all, that this last practice obtained, and the following passages are proofs of it, Jer. ix. 17, 18 :
“ Call for the mourning-women, that they may
“ come ; and send for cunning women, that
“ they may come. And let them make haste,
“ and take up a wailing for us, that our eyes
“ may run down with tears, and our eye-lids
“ gush out with waters.” To which may be added ver. 20. Can it then be thought difficult to admit the supposition, that the last clause of Amos vi. 10, is to be understood of the *more sedate singing of parcels of holy writ*, according to the modern practice of these countries :

countries : “ A man’s uncle shall take him
 “ up, and he that burneth him, to bring out
 “ the bones out of the house, and shall say
 “ unto him that is by the sides of the house,
 “ Is there yet any with thee ? and he shall say,
 “ No. Then shall he say, Hold thy tongue;
 “ *for we may not make mention of the name of*
 “ *the Lord.*”

The 8th chapter of that prophet, ver. 3, speaks of many dead bodies in every place, and says, “ They shall cast them forth *with* “ *silence:*” that however may be understood of neglecting the sending for hired mourners to lament over them ; but this other passage speaks of the “ *not mentioning the name of the* “ *Lord,*” which seems to refer to something very different from the extravagant female lamentations of the East, of these modern times ; and most probably from the exclamations of ancient *hired* mourners.

The *Jews of Barbary*, of the last century, were wont to sing in their funeral processions the 49th Psalm. It cannot, I apprehend, be positively determined, what the portion of holy writ was that they were wont to recite when carrying their dead to the grave, in the time of the prophet Amos, but it might as well be the 49th Psalm, as any other part of Scripture ; and as it was actually made use of in *Barbary* an hundred years ago, it is, perhaps, most likely to have anciently been made use of in the East. Now in that Psalm God is celebrated, as he that would raise his people
 from

from the grave to life, after having long laid there. "The upright shall have dominion
"over them in the morning; and their beauty
"shall consume in the grave, from their
"dwelling. But God will redeem my soul
"from the power of the grave; for he shall
"receive me." Ver. 14, 15. But he had
been celebrated by them as *the God that chastised the heathen*¹, but *would not cast off his people, or forsake his inheritance*², in this present life: when then appearances seemed contrary to this, *the heathen were ready to say, "Where is their God?"* and Israel were ready to be ashamed of avowing their hope in him as to a resurrection from the dead, in a future state of things, which the 49th Psalm celebrated, when appearances in this present state were so contrary to their expectations, and their songs of hope, as they were, when in an house so crowded with inhabitants, that there should be *ten men* in it, all should perish, by the *sword*, by *famine*, or *pestilence*, so that not *one* should remain, was it not natural, that in such a state of things, he that searched through *such a desolated house*, should say, at carrying away the last dead body for interment, *Be silent, it doth not become us to make mention of God's care of Israel in here-*

¹ Pf. 94. 10.² Ver. 14.³ Pf. 79. 9, 10: "Help us, O God of our salvation, for the glory of thy name: and deliver us, and purge away our sins, for thy name sake. Wherefore should the heathen say, "Where is their God?"*after*

after raising us from the dead, in carrying them to the grave, when he is thus visibly abandoning his mercy towards his people? or, in the words of our translation, "Hold thy tongue, for we may not make mention of the name of the Lord."

The bishop of Waterford, in his most laudable attempt to illustrate the twelve minor prophets, which have so many obscure passages in them, thus translates this part of the verse,

——“ Then shall he say, Be silent,
“ Because they set not themselves to men-
“ tion the name of Jehovah.”

And in his comment on this verse, which he considers as obscure, represents this part of it as probably signifying, “ Solitude shall reign in the house: and if one is left, he must be silent [See ch. viii. 3.] and retired, lest he be plundered of his scanty provisions.”

It is certain that those afflictions of the Jewish nation were considered by the prophet, as the effect of their forgetfulness of God; but the interpretation I am proposing will readily be acknowledged to be more pointed and lively, if it be admissible. Whether it be, or not, must be left to my Reader to determine.

OBSERVATION CXI.

Among other rites of mourning made use of by the Oriental Jews, in the time of St. Jerome, was the *beating their arms* with such vehemence as to render them black and blue. I should apprehend then, it would be no unnatural supposition, to consider Ezekiel's uncovering his arm, when he was personating the Jewish people at the time Jerusalem was besieged, as the exposing the bruises of lamentation he had inflicted on that part, though it is quite the reverse of the explanation that has been given by those commentators I have consulted.

Jerome tells us, that on the return of the day on which Jerusalem was taken by the Romans, and demolished, *the Jews were annually wont to assemble in great numbers, many of them decrepit old women and aged men in rags, bearing the marks of God's displeasure both in their persons and dress, and while the memorial¹ of the death and resurrection of the Lord appeared with great splendor, and the figure of the cross shone on the top of Mount Olivet, these miserable people mourned over the*

¹ Referring, I apprehend, to the magnificent structure that had been built over the sepulchre of our Lord in his time; and to some gilded figure of the cross erected in, or on the top of, a Christian place of worship on Mount Olivet. See his Comment on Ezek. 11. 23.

ruins of their temple, and though their cheeks were covered with tears, their arms black and blue, and their hair all in disorder, the soldiers demanded money of them¹ for the liberty of protracting their lamentations a little longer².

What this ancient writer meant, by that circumstance of their arms being bruised in that time of mourning, is explained by a passage of his commentary on Jeremiah³, to this purpose: *He ordered mourning-women to be called, who are wont to lament with a doleful tone of voice⁴, beating their arms with their hands, and so to excite the people to weep. This custom, he observes, continued in Judæa to his time, that women with dishevelled hair, open bosoms, and a particular tone of voice, excited tears in all that were present.*

The commentators on Ezekiel seem unanimously to suppose, that Ezekiel's looking to Jerusalem was with a threatening countenance, and his arm bare to express the exertions of the besieging army⁵; but in the preceding directions given him how to behave himself, he uncontrovertibly was to represent not the state of the besieging army, but of the distressed Jews in the city, who would be forced to eat polluted food, and to want even a sufficiency of that, and I think it is

¹ This may serve to explain some part of the counsel John the Baptist gave the *soldiers of his time*, when they consulted him, Luke 3. 14.

² Comm. in Sophoniam, cap. 1, ver. 14.

³ Cap. 9.

⁴ Voce flebili.

⁵ Ezek. 4. 7.

unimaginable that he should be represented, in one and the same paragraph, as personating two such different and even opposite characters.

OBSERVATION CXII.

The ancient Jews, we are told in the Scriptures¹, were wont to make *great burnings* for their princes: but whether this was when they carried them in procession to the grave; or from time to time afterwards, when they visited their tombs with solemn mourning; or in any other manner, different from either of these two; cannot be determined, I believe, from the *Scriptures themselves*: but it may not be improper to set down here an account that is given, of the manner in which the modern Jews are wont to honour the graves of those they reverence, and which is not commonly known, or at least attended to.

When de la Vallé visited the Holy-Land, his curiosity carried him to *Hebron*, which is not often now, I think, visited by Christians; but is a noted place for Mohammedan pilgrimages². He informs us³, that the cave of *Machpelah*, in which Abraham and the

¹ 2 Chron. 16. 14, ch. 21. 19. Jer. 34. 5.

² D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, art. Khalil and Hagge.

³ Tome 2, p. 99.

other

other patriarchs, with their wives, were deposited, is now covered with a considerable building, which was once a Christian church, but turned into a mosque. Adjoining to this is an *house*, in which Abraham is supposed to have dwelt, when he resided at Hebron, the *Ciceronis* of the Holy-Land forgetting, “ that
 “ by faith he sojourned in the land of promise, as in a strange country, *dwelling in*
 “ *tabernacles* with Isaac and Jacob, the heirs
 “ with him of the same promise.” Heb. xi. 9.

Neither into this *cave*, nor this *mosque* built over it, nor this adjoining *house of Abraham*, it seems, are either Jews or Christians permitted to enter ; the nearest access with which they are indulged is, according to him, certain *holes made in the wall leading to this very sacred repository*. There, “ we Christians,” he says, “ said our prayers, in the best manner we were able. The Jews also attended
 “ with great assiduity, and poured out there
 “ divers odoriferous things, they *burnt perfumes there*, some sweet-scented kinds of
 “ wood, and wax candles.”

Here we see the modern Jews honouring a sepulchre, for which they have a great veneration, with lighting at it *wax candles*. They then, perhaps, garnished the tombs of the righteous¹, in ancient times, in the same manner. And as they now *burn perfumes*

¹ Matt. 23. 29.

here,

here, they might possibly after the same manner honour the graves of those they revered, both *kings and prophets*, as well as moisten them with odoriferous substances of a liquid nature.

And as they now burn these perfumes at some distance from the cave, in which the bones of Abraham are supposed to remain, they might, in somewhat the like manner, make a large pile of *sweet-scented wood*, at some distance from the mouth of the subterraneous repository for their royal dead, which they had curiously scooped out of the rock. At Hebron they are *forced* to burn their perfumes at some distance, which they think answers, however, the purpose; they might do the like anciently for the sake of convenience.

After all I must remark, that we have no account of that *kind of burning* used for kings, at their death, as used for any other persons: neither for priests, or prophets. Nor is the Hebrew word the same with that used for burning incense; but derived from that which expresses the burning the bodies of Saul and his sons, after they had hanged some time on the wall of Bethshan, the nature or design of which seems to be *doubtful*: since, after they had undergone the disagreeableness of conveying the corrupting bodies so many miles from Bethshan to Jabesh-Gilead, the place designed for their interment, it could not *then* be necessary to burn the flesh from the bones, on

account of the *ill scent* they might by that time have contracted. The *mere laying* those corrupted bodies in the grave could be nothing, compared with the carrying them along so many miles. It might be to honour them; it might be to prevent any attempt of the Philistines to hang them up a second time.

Answerable to this account of honouring the grave of Abraham, with burning perfumes in or near it, I know a gentleman of great ingenuity and learning, who is disposed to believe, the *odours* the women carried to the sepulchre of our Lord¹ were designed to perfume that sepulchral cave, which would be doing it honour; but it is to be remembered that the intention of them which the Evangelist gives an account of, was for the *anointing* him. To which may be added, that St. Luke expressly calls the things they prepared *spices* and *ointments*², or *spices* made into ointments.

But still it may be enquired in what sense they proposed to *anoint him*: whether they meant to anoint the whole body; or only a part of it; or merely the linen vestment in which it was wrapped.

The first cannot be admitted, as it is not agreeable to the rules of Eastern decency for women to perform the office of *purifying by washing*, and consequently of anointing the body of one of the *other sex*. The

¹ Mark. 16. 1.

² Ch. 23. 56.

rules now observed in Persia, with regard to the doing for the dead, of which Sir John Chardin has given an account at large¹, demonstrate this. Which is confirmed by the observation, that these good women were in no wise concerned in the preparing the body of our Lord for interment; that appears to have been entirely in the hands of Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, with their attendants. The women were unconcerned.

As to the second—the anointing a *part* of the body, the *head or the feet*, it could be of little or no consequence, when he was *wrapped up* in such a large quantity of spices, or at least laid in a *bed of them*, according to the Jewish mode of burial.

The same may be said of the anointing the corpse as it laid *wrapped up*, in which case it would not have been, rigidly speaking, the *anointing of him*, but of his *winding-sheet*. This however might be admitted, as to the sense of the words, which oftentimes are to be understood with considerable degrees of latitude. So we find, in some particular cases, when none of the same sex were to be had, a relation of the other sex, if pretty near to the deceased, may be permitted, according to the Persian rules, to administer *purification* to a corpse, provided it be closely covered up, so as no part of the flesh be touched. In that

¹ Tome 2, p. 367. See also Dean Addison's account of the Jews of Barbary, p. 219, 220, who observe the same rules of decency.

case it is the enveloping linen, strictly speaking, to which the purifying water is applied, and which is rubbed with the hand, yet still the dead body is considered as purified'. The anointing then the winding-sheet of our Lord might have been called anointing him; but this, it should seem, would have been to very little purpose, when he was buried in such a quantity of myrrh and aloes.

And if the anointing the *linen cloth* in which he was wrapped might be called the anointing *him*, the anointing *his sepulchre* might, in like manner, be called anointing *him*, as it was anointing the *place in which he laid*.

And when we consider this was an ancient practice, and particularly performed *by the women*, in their mourning for the dead from time to time, it may *probably* be what was meant by St. Mark.

It is certain the Greeks of those times, with whom the Jews then had considerable connexions, anointed the grave-stones of the dead; and it seems those that live farther East than Judæa still practise it. The good women of Judæa, the intermediate country, may naturally be supposed not to have neglected this testimony of regard.

So Archbishop Potter, in his antiquities of Greece, has shown, by apposite quotations, not only from poets, but historians, that the ancient Greeks were wont to anoint the mo-

* Chardin, in the same page.

numents of the dead with fragrant *oils*, or *ointments*, as well as to lay *sweet-smelling flowers* upon them, and though I do not remember to have remarked the continuance of the custom, as to anointing tombs in *those countries the Greeks formerly inhabited*, yet it seems it is not lost in the East.

For *Inatulla*, an *Indian* writer, represents this custom as existing in the East still¹: and though his *Tales* are of the romantic kind, they appear to be founded on the real practice of those places, and the genuine occurrences of human life there. “Immediately she fainted away, and when she recovered her senses again, she found herself seated upon a tombstone.

“The sad reflexion immediately recurred, that she had lost her beloved father, so drowning his lamp² with her tears, she sat in the shades of horror, conscious that her undutiful conduct had brought a virtuous parent to an untimely end.

“In a short time, she beheld her mother, with a weeping train in the robes of mourning, carrying jars of *perfumed oil*, and baskets of flowers to strew the tomb; so joining their tears in one stream of affliction, she related her tale in the ears of astonishment, &c.’

¹ *Tales*, vol. 2, p. 101, 102.

² The translator remarks, in note, that the “*Mohammedans burn lamps to the dead.*” As a civil honour paid them, I presume he means, not idolatrously.

Here we see the *modern Indian* joins perfumed oil with flowers, in his description of the rites of bewailing the dead, as did the ancient Greeks.

As to the *Greeks*, Potter gives us Cowley's translation of some verses of *Anacreon* in proof of this point :

" Why do we *precious ointments* show'r,
 " Nobler wines why do we pour,
 " Beauteous *flow'rs* why do we spread
 " Upon the mon'ments of the dead ?
 " Nothing they but dust can show,
 " Or bones that hasten to be so ;
 " Crown *me* with roses while I live."

To which he adds from Plutarch, that Alexander arriving at Troy, honoured the memories of the heroes buried there with solemn libations, and that he *anointed* Achilles's gravestone¹.

In like manner these female disciples of our Lord might propose to begin those visits to the sepulchre of our Lord, which they designed to *continue from time to time*, by anointing the *nich in which he laid* with fragrant ointments, which they could better apply than flowers, it may be; and which were often mingled with them, when flowers could be, and were, in fact, made use of.

¹ Vol. 2, book 4, ch. 8.

OBSERVATION CXIII.

St. Jerome affirms that the Jews of his time, in mourning *their dead*, wept, rolled themselves in ashes, having their feet bare, and laid in sackcloth : to which he adds, that, according to the vain rites of the Pharisees, lentils were the first things of which they eat in their mourning¹. He gives us an explanation of this usage, (which certainly was never derived from the Jews, but from his own lively fancy, which furnished him with an inexhaustible store of interpretations of the mystic kind,) namely, that this custom marked out their loss of the birth-right².

Dean Addison has mentioned nothing of their eating lentils, in *Barbary*, after the interment of their dead, or any other fixed and stated kind of food ; but he says that, in some places, “ the mourners use to eat eggs, out of no less emblem, than that death is volatile as an egg, and to-day takes one, and another to-morrow, and so will come round upon all³. ” But perhaps a more probable reason may be assigned for this usage⁴.

¹ Ep. ad Paulam, super obitu Blefillæ filiae, tome i, p. 159. ² Gen. 25. 34. ³ Ch. 26, p. 224.

⁴ Namely, the hope of the resurrection : on which account, it is said, the Oriental Christians make presents to each other of eggs at *Easter*, richly adorned with painting and gilding.

The eating of lentiles on these occasions, by the Jews of the age of St. Jerome, was *merely*, I should imagine, to express affliction, and even not only inattention to, but a disgust against, the delicacies of life. So in the account of the life of *Hilarion*, a celebrated hermit of that time, that austere recluse is said for three years to have eaten nothing but half a sextary¹ of lentiles, moistened with cold water; and for other three years only dry bread with salt, and some water. This then shows the eating of lentiles was thought to be very poor living, though much eaten in those countries; and sometimes sent to soldiers attending their prince².

It shows also, in a very strong point of light, the profaneness of Esau, who despised his birthright to such a degree, as to part with it for a mess of *lentile pottage*,

OBSERVATION CXIV.

*Windus*³, speaking of the reverencing idiots as *saints* among the Mohammedans, their kissing their garments, and giving them every thing but money, which they are not to take, adds, "And after their death, some *great* " *man* hears of their fame, and makes it an " act of devotion to *beautify* their tombs;

¹ About a pint.

² 2 Sam. 17. 28.

³ In his journey to Mequinez, p. 55.

" or,

“ or, if they had none, to *build* one over
“ their grave, wherein they are laid.”

He had a little before observed, that their
tombs are generally cupolas built with an
entrance as wide as the building; and that
“ they are of several forms—some are low
“ pyramids, others square, and the body put
“ in the middle. But there is no rule, for
“ Alcaide Ally Ben Abdallah’s is a great
“ square of thirty foot at least’.”

These passages naturally lead us to recollect the words of our Lord, Matt. xxiii. 29, 30, “ Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites ! because ye *build* the tombs of the prophets, and *garnish* the sepulchres of the righteous, and say, If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets ;” and also to make some observations on the matters there mentioned.

I would take notice, in the first place, of the *numerousness* of these Mohammedan sacred sepulchres. This writer having occasion to mention *Sidi Cassem*, in the road from *Tetuan* to *Mequinez*, tells us, “ The town takes it’s name from a saint, who has a monument in it, to which the *Moors* with great superstition resort to say their prayers ;” to which he adds, that “ a *great many more saints* are buried in the road to *Mequinez*, having little

* P. 53, 54.

“ monuments

“ monuments over them, which the Moors
 “ will seldom pass without praying at ¹.”

He had a little before, in the plate he has given us of Alcañar, p. 78, marked distinctly the monument of a saint much resorted to; as a little after his account of Sidi Cassim, he mentions a plain called *Muley Idris*, from a saint who has a monument hard by, which it seems is treated with such veneration, that the travellers to *Mequinez* go considerably out of their way to pray at it; to which he adds, that the emperor himself often pays his devotions there.

Since the same principle, which has produced such numerous effects in late times in Barbary, is supposed, by *our Lord*, to have operated with great vigour among the Jews of his time, I cannot but imagine there were then many more of these sepulchres, in the neighbourhood of *Jerusalem*², than now appear. Travellers are shown an handsome structure, which is supposed to be the tomb of Zacharias, *slain between the temple and the altar*³; besides which there is only one more sepulchral structure above ground, I think, relating to those of the Old Testa-

¹ P. 82, 83.

² Since *there*, according to Luke 13. 33, most of those of whose tombs our Lord is speaking *lost their lives*: “It cannot be that a prophet perish out of *Jerusalem*,” of course there we naturally expect to find their sepulchres.

³ Matt. 23. 35.

ment¹, which is called the sepulchre of *Ab-salom*, against which both *Jews and Moham-medans* are said to throw stones, to express their detestation of him, of which there is a considerable heap.

Supposing this to be a mistake, as it cannot be imagined to be the tomb *Ab-salom* built for himself in his life-time; and it can hardly be believed to have been raised in honour of him in any succeeding age; yet still this would make but two tombs of ancient Jewish righteous men, suffering for truth and virtue, if instead of being a memorial of an unnatural son, it should be understood to be the resting-place of a prophet, or martyred saint, whereas this same principle has made Mohammedan structures of this kind very numerous.

Numerous however as these Mohammedan structures are, all their saints, it should seem, have not received this honour, for this writer tells us, that *those whom they reverence as saints are led about, the people kissing their garments, &c, and after their death, some great man bears of their fame, and makes it an act of devotion to beautify their tombs; or, if they had none, to build one over their grave, wherein they are laid*². Every one then of these saints has not a tomb immediately erected over him, though their sanctity was acknowledged and

¹ Rachel's sepulchre seems to be too far off to come into the account, not to say that she died not a death of violence.

² P. 55.

honoured in life ; it is not then to be wondered at, that it was some time before the *persecuted and murdered* Jewish prophets had tombs raised over them, and that some of them might not have been erected 'till the time, or very near the time of our Lord.

To the observations relating to the *numerosity* of the tombs of the Mohammedan saints, and the erecting them from time to time to the honour of such as had been *at first neglected*, I would add a third, respecting the *garnishing* those that had been before built.

This possibly may be understood of the *whitening* them, which is commonly done in Barbary¹, and of which practice our Lord makes mention, ver. 27 : but as this among the Jews seems to have been *universal*, all tombs being whitened, in order to give warning to people not to approach too nigh, lest they should, according to the Jewish ritual, be defiled²; the word *garnishing* should seem to mean some different way of beautifying. The Mohammedan sepulchres of their saints are at least not only *whitened*, but otherwise *adorned*. It is to be considered, whether the Jewish way of *garnishing* them was the same.

Among the Mohammedans the tombs of their saints are adorned *with lamps*. Pitts says, it is a mistake in those who have affirmed that there are no less than 3000 lamps about the tomb of Mohammed, their great saint

¹ Shaw's Trav. p. 219, 220.

² Numb. 19, 16.

and lawgiver; but he acknowledges it is decked with some *lamps*, though he believed hardly an hundred in number'. And elsewhere supposes that *lamps*, or *wax candles*, were used to garnish the tombs of their less celebrated saints, for he tells us, that the Algerines, when in the Straight's-mouth, are wont "to make
" a gathering of small *wax candles*, which
" they usually carry with them, and bind
" them in a bundle; and then, together with
" a *pot of oil*, throw them overboard, as a
" present to the *marabbot*, or *saint*, which
" lies intombed there on the *Barbary* shore,
" near the sea, and hath so done for many
" scores of years, as they are taught to believe; not in the least doubting, but the
" present *will come safe* to the *marabbot's*
" hands." P. 17². The tomb assuredly was never illuminated by *these* candles and *this* oil, but the practice shows in what manner they would wish to garnish the tombs of their *righteous men*. This is confirmed by what he says in the next page, where he informs us, that in times of distress and danger "they collect money, and wrap it in a
" piece of linen-cloth, and make it fast to
" the ancient-staff of the ship, so dedicating
" it to some *marabbot*; and there it abides
" 'till the arrival of the ship, when they

¹ P. 156.

² He mentions his observing the like done in the Red-Sea, in honour of another *marabbot* interred on the shore there, p. 114.

“ bestow it in candles, or oil to give light, or
 “ in some ornament, to beautify the marabbot's
 “ sepulchre. For these marabbot's have gene-
 “ rally a little neat room built over their
 “ graves, resembling in figure their mosques
 “ or churches, which is very nicely cleaned,
 “ and well looked after,” &c.

So Mr. Maundrell tells us, that at *Damascus* he was shewn an old tomb, said to be Ananias's, but how he came to be buried there his guides could not tell, nor he guess :
 “ however the *Turks* have a reverence for
 “ his tomb, and maintain a *lamp* always burn-
 “ ing over it¹.”

Pitts, in some of the preceding citations, supposes the money that was collected in times of danger, and dedicated to some *marabbot*, which was frequently laid out in *candles or oil* to illuminate the sepulchre of the *marabbot*, was sometimes bestowed in the purchase of some *other ornament*, but mentions no particulars. Other writers give us however an account of several.

A *carpet*, more or less valuable, is wont to cover the *tomb itself*, over which the sepulchral building, or vaulted chapel, is erected. This tomb is made like a great chest, or one of our altar-tombs, to which *carpet is sometimes annexed other ornaments*. So Maundrell, speaking of a mosque on the coast of Syria, built by one *Sultan Ibrahim*, in which he is

¹ P. 13.

deposited, tells us, " We were admitted to
 " see his tomb, tho' held by the *Turks* in
 " great *veneration*. We found it only a great
 " wooden chest, erected over his grave, and
 " covered with a carpet of painted calico,
 " extending on all sides down to the ground.
 " It was also tricked up with a great many
 " long ropes of wooden beads hanging upon
 " it, and somewhat resembling the furniture
 " of a button-maker's shop. This is the
 " *Turks' usual way of adorning the tombs of*
 " *their holy men*, as I have seen in several
 " other instances. The long strings of beads
 " passing in this country for marks of great
 " devotion and gravity'."

Several of their sacred tombs have much more valuable ornaments than these: the several large *incense-pots*, *candlesticks for altars*, and other church furniture, being the spoils of *Christian churches at the taking of Cyprus*, which Maundrell saw in the mosque where Sultan Ibrahim lies¹, being, I imagine, to be understood to be devout donations to the tomb, not to the *mosque*.

So Chardin, describing the tomb of a Persian female saint, gives an account of several vessels of silver that hang over it, of considerable weight, called *candils*, in form somewhat resembling lamps, but not used to give light, or indeed capable of holding any oil, besides

¹ Shaw in like manner speaks of the tombs of the marab-butts as adorned with beads, ribbons, and such trinkets, p. 8; note. ² P. 14.

the tomb's being inclosed with a grate of massive silver, ten feet high, and crowned at the corners with four large balls of solid gold'. Other instances might be produced of great riches lodged in the sepulchres of the Eastern saints, revered by the disciples of Mohammed.

It seems then by no means natural to suppose, the garnishing the tombs of the righteous means only the white-washing them; but it may be difficult precisely to say to what ornaments our Lord refers. Great riches, it is said by Josephus, were lodged in the tomb of David; and Benjamin the Jew, in his Itinerary, speaks of a lamp's burning in the cave of Machpelah, which he visited with *devotion*, and speaks of casks of dry bones of many of the Jews as lodged there, but says not at whose expence the lamp was lighted up*.

Dr. Shaw has given an account of the form of the Eastern sepulchres, but he has mentioned no other way of garnishing them, but the white-washing them, and strewing them with herbs and flowers. I thought these additional remarks might not be totally unacceptable.

OBSERVATION CXV.

Among other methods of doing honour to those that have been long dead, in the East,

* Tome 1, p. 204.

* P. 85, 86.

is the using music and songs daily at their graves; and it should seem some footsteps of that practice may be remarked in the Old Testament, though with less frequency.

Sir John Chardin found at Ujon, a village in the south of Persia, a small mosque, in which was the tomb of a brother of one of their kings; over the entrance of this mosque there was, he tells us, a gallery, *in which, every morning and evening, they played on the flute and tymbals*, in honour of the prince who *was buried there, and, it seems, with a view of pointing out the nobleness of his extraction*.

This seems to be *stated* music; d'Herbelot has given an instance of singing and music, in honour of the dead, which appears to have been *occasional*. Babur, a prince descended from the celebrated *Tamerlane*, fell into a dangerous illness, from which he recovered very slowly. The better to re-establish his health, he resolved, for the sake of change of air, to remove from Herat to a city called Thous, where it seems was the sepulchre of a great Persian saint, called the *Imam Riza*, which circumstance occasioned this city's being named *Meschad Mocaddes*, which signifies the Holy Sepulchre. To this sepulchre he made *presents* worthy of so great a prince. He accompanied this liberality with exemplary piety and devotion, abstaining from wine,

* Tome 3, p. 96, 97.

and passing whole days in the mosque and sacred gardens belonging to it, which mosque had been built in honour of this Imam, *whose praises he caused his musicians to sing*¹.

The word that is used to express the honours annually done to the daughter of Jephthah, seems to insinuate that they honoured *her grave* with music and songs, four days every year. Our translation, as well as that of the Septuagint, supposes the word signifies their *lamenting* her, which is without doubt the *general* thought; but what was the *mode* of their lamenting? by talking with her, say our translators in the margin, which supposes her life; but most probably *by music and songs* at her grave, as Persian saints of later times have been honoured.

The word in the original certainly signifies to *reward*, and it appears to be used, in another passage of the book of Judges, to reward by celebrating with *music and songs*: Judges v. 11, "They are delivered from the
" noise of archers in the places of drawing
" water; there shall they *rebearse* the righteous
" acts of the Lord, even the righteous acts
" towards the inhabitants of his villages in
" Israel: then shall the people of the Lord
" go down to the gates."

The *blessing* the Lord in the 9th verse, and the *speaking* of travellers on horseback and on foot, perfectly agree with the notion of

¹ Biblioth. Orient. art. Babur, or Babor, p. 163.

their *rehearsing*, or *rewarding* the righteous acts of the Lord with *music and songs*. I have also elsewhere shown, that the Orientals are wont to choose the neighbourhood of water for their parties of pleasure, which are often very musical ¹.

The using then this word by the writer of the book of Judges, in the case of Jephthah's daughter, who evidently appears to use it in the sense of music and songs in another passage of that book, may be considered as a *trace*, faint if you will, of that custom's obtaining among the Jews, which has since been observed, on some occasions, in *Persia*. *Josephus* represents the death of Jephthah's daughter as very *heroic*, and also *patriotic*; such an annual solemnity at her grave then, by the virgins of Israel, was extremely *natural*, and deserved to be recorded: her dying childless, on account of the meeting her father with *timbrels and dances*, was naturally rewarded by *annual music and songs at her tomb*.

OBSERVATION CXVI.

It is not only customary for the people of these countries to repair to the graves of the dead, to lament their departed friends, and to cover their tombs with tears and with flowers

¹ Outlines of a Comment. on Sol. Song, p. 198, note.

or herbs ; but they lament those of a public character in *anniversary solemnities*, (at a *distance from their tombs*,) with *mournful music*, and oftentimes in such a manner as they think may *livelily represent* the circumstances of their affliction or their death, as far as they can with propriety : and *traces* of this kind of lamentation may be found in the *Scriptures*.

The annual mourning of the Persians for the death of *Houssain*, a son of *Ali*, and grandson of *Mohammed* their great prophet, which *Houssain* they believe to have been the true and rightful *Khalife*, but who was rejected by the majority of the followers of *Mohammed*, and killed by the troops of his rival ; I say, the annual mourning for *Houssain* by the Persians is pretty well known, by those that are conversant in books of travels, but is particularly described by Sir John Chardin in his 3d tome¹.

They visit his sepulchre, near the ancient Babylon, with great devotion from time to time. *Niebuhr*, in the second of those three volumes of Travels which were published after the publication of his account of *Arabia*, gives an account of his visiting this celebrated tomb. But the *annual* mourning his death takes place *at a distance*, is observed through all Persia, whereas *Kerbela*, the place where the tomb is, is in the dominions of the Great Turk.

The account *Chardin* gives is, in *short*,

¹ P. 173, &c.

that the Persians continue this mourning ten days, (beginning with the first day of their year, and finishing with the tenth day of their first month, when he was slain;) that they suspend all appearances of joy and pleasure, and appear as mourners in their dress; that discourses of an affecting kind, relating to his being killed, &c, are pronounced in numerous assemblies of the Persians; that to their mournful cries of Houssein are joined the sounds of melancholy music; that numbers personate Houssein, who at the time of his death was overwhelmed with thirst, and covered with blood gushing from his various wounds, some daubing themselves with something black, to represent the first, supposing that extreme thirst produced this effect on this prince¹, and others making use of some red substance to make them resemble Houssein when covered with blood; he also mentions hymns sung on this solemn occasion to the honour of Houssein and his race, and this as done in the royal palace, in the hearing of the Persian prince himself, as well as in other places among the common people.

This account may enable us, probably, to form a still juster notion of the Jewish way of mourning the death of King Josiah in later, and perhaps of the daughter of Jephthah in elder times, being added to a preceding article.

They were, probably, both of them annual mournings. The Hebrew word translated or-

¹ See Lam. 4. 8, and ch. 5. 10.

dinance, “ Jeremiah lamented for Josiah ; and
 “ all the singing-men and singing-women
 “ spake of Josiah in their lamentations to this
 “ day, and made them an ordinance in Israel,”
 2 Chron. xxxv. 25, seems to determine this
 as to the mourning for *Josiah*, being the very
 word used to describe the nature of the mourn-
 ing for the daughter of *Jephthah*, which was,
 without controversy, an annual solemnity :
 “ It was a custom (or ordinance) in Israel,
 “ that the daughters of Israel went yearly to
 “ lament the daughter of Jephthah, the Gi-
 “ leadite, four days in a year’.” A con-
 sidering the nature of the thing strongly con-
 firms the same thought : for it could not be an
 appointment that these songs of lamentation
 over Josiah should be continually sung ; or no-
 thing else sung on mournful occasions. But the
 sacred writer seems to mean, that this anni-
 versary mourning for Josiah continued to the
 time of his writing this history.

Melancholy music is used with songs in
 mourning for *Hossein*, and as music generally
 accompanies songs in the East, both, proba-
 bly, were used in lamenting *Josiah*.

The more powerfully to excite sorrow, the
 Persians make use of some additional circum-
 stances, bearing some resemblance to the si-
 tuation of those for whom they mourn : their
 funeral panegyrics are delivered in places,
 according to Chardin, hung round with arms

† Judges II. 39, 40,

of various kinds, as Hosslein was surrounded with a multitude of armed men when he died; and some of the people besmear themselves with some black substance, and others with a red, to represent him perishing with thirst and an effusion of blood. In like manner the *Israelitish damsels*, who mourned *Jephthah's daughter*, might wander together in companies up and down the *mountains*, as she had done, which were more covered with trees than the low-lands, and more proper for melancholy services on that account, if we should suppose, their repairing to her *tomb* to mourn there too inconvenient to be performed, in general, by the virgins that dwelt in places remote from *Gilead*. Whether any of the deadly instruments of war were made use of, to enliven the mourning, at the anniversary commemoration of the death of *Josiah*, particularly of that kind which proved fatal to him, may be doubted; however I have elsewhere shewn from Mr. Irwin, that a *sword* was used at Ghinnah in Upper *Ægypt*, by the women there, that in a solemn procession, with songs and music, bewailed the death of a merchant of that country, placing themselves round a *sword*, by which kind of weapon he was killed, in the desert between that town and the Red-Sea.

The mourning for Hosslein continues ten days; how long the annual mourning for *Josiah* was is absolutely uncertain: four days we are told by the historian was the time spent every year

in lamenting the daughter of Jephthah; which might be employed by some in visiting her grave with music and panegyrical songs; and by the more distant virgins, in wandering up and down the mountains with their companions, with melancholy music and songs of praise.

So, among the modern Persians, some *visit the tomb of Houssain* with great devotion¹; others commemorate his death, with solemnity, *at a great distance* from the place in which he lies interred.

OBSERVATION CXVII.

A very ingenious writer, in his translation of the book of Job, has given this version of Job's description of the sepulchral distinctive honours paid to the *Emirs*, or Arab princes and leading warriors of the *land of Uz*, and its adjoining countries, in the close of the 21st chapter of that noble ancient Eastern poem,

" With pomp he's carry'd to the grave ; his name
 " There lives afresh, in monumental fame :
 " There he enjoys, *in some delicious vale*,
 " Turf ever green, and springs that never fail ;
 " Preceded, followed, to his dusty bed,
 " By all the former, all the future dead.

And then gives this note² on the 33^d verse:

¹ D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orientale, art. Houssain.

² Scott's Job, p. 169.

" *The*

“ *The clods of the valley shall be sweet to him.*]
“ *The soft clods of the valley* (made soft and
“ tender by gentle showers) *are sweet to him.*
“ Their sepulchral grotts were frequently in
“ vallies, cut in the bottom of rocky hills.
“ Such a situation of a tomb, together with
“ springs of water or moderate rains to keep
“ the turf perpetually green, was accounted
“ an happy sepulture *among the Arabians*, as
“ being a means of preserving the remem-
“ brance of the deceased in honour.” To
make no remarks on the little agreement
between green turf and grotts in rocky hills to-
gether ; and not to enquire how the verdure of
a spot could have kept alive the remembrance
of one buried hard by ; I cannot but make
this *observation* on the *main point*, the bury-
ing in *vallies*, that this seems rather to be a
deduction from his supposed sense of the text,
instead of an account taken from Arabian
authors, or travellers into those countries,
tending to illustrate these words of Job. A
management which too often appears, even in
eminent writers.

For I apprehend that in truth the *Arabs*,
in elder and later times, rather chose to in-
ter their dead in *rising* grounds than in *val-
lies*.

As to the modern *Bedouin Arabs*, we are
told, in the account published by *de la Roque*
of those of Mount Carmel, “ that the fre-
“ quent change of the place of their encamp-
“ ment, not admitting their having places
“ fet

“ set apart for burial, they *always* choose a
 “ place *somewhat elevated* for that purpose,
 “ and at some distance from the camp. They
 “ make a grave there, into which they put the
 “ corpse, and cover it with earth, and a num-
 “ ber of *great stones*, lest the wild beasts should
 “ get at the body¹. ”

In like manner the ancient burial-place between Suez and Mount Sinai, which Niebuhr visited, was found on the top of an *high and steep mountain*². The noble sepulchres of the ancient *Palmyrene Arabs*, according to Mr. Wood's account, were in the *hills* in the neighbourhood of that magnificent city. And thus we find the burial-place for people of honour and distinction at *Bethel*, in the time the ten tribes made a separate kingdom, was in the *mount* there³; and the sepulchre of *Shebna*, a great man in the Jewish court, was in an *elevated* situation⁴: “ Get thee unto
 “ this treasurer, even unto Shebna, which is
 “ over the house, and say, What hast *thou*
 “ here? and whom hast *thou* here, that *thou*
 “ hast hewed thee out a sepulchre here, as
 “ he that heweth him out a sepulchre *on*
 “ *high*, and that graveth an habitation for
 “ himself in a *rock*? Behold, the Lord will
 “ carry thee away with a mighty captivity.”

From hence it is apparent, that if great men were *sometimes* buried in vallies, it was

¹ Voy. dans la Palestine, ch. 23.
 l'Arabie, p. 347.
 with 1 Kings 13. 2.

² Descript. de

³ 2 Kings 23. 16, compared

⁴ Is. 22. 15—17.

no part of the splendor of interment among the Arabs, who were wont rather to *choose* elevated places for the sepulture of princes, and people of high distinction. How then, it is natural to ask, came Job to speak of the *clods of the valley*, when describing magnificence of burial? I should suppose, in answer to this question, that Job is to be understood, not as intending to mark out the wonted *places* of their interment, but the *manner of ornamenting* their sepulchres—planting flowers and odoriferous herbs or shrubs, *on or about* their graves: Clods *like* those of a valley or torrent, (verdant and flowery,) shall surround him, and be pleasing to him. The liveliness of Eastern poetry here representing the dead, as having the same perceptions as if they were alive in their sepulchres: He shall be brought with pomp to the grave; he shall *watch* in the heap (of earth or stones that cover him), for such, the margin of our translation tells us, is the more exact import of the Hebrew; the clods around him, like those in some pleasant valley, or on the border of some torrent, shall be sweet unto him.

Thus when it is said, “the desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose. It shall blossom abundantly, and rejoice even with joy and singing: the *glory of Lebanon* shall be given unto it, the excellency of Carmel and Sharon: they shall see the glory of the Lord, and the excellency of our God!”

¹ Is. 35. 1, 2.

it is visible that a glory *like* that of Lebanon, an excellency *like* that of Carmel and Sharon, is the thing that is meant; not that the *trees* of Lebanon were to be removed into the desert, and the *verdure and flowers* of the two other places. The *clods of the valley* are to be understood, I apprehend, after the same manner—Clods *like* those of the vallies where torrents run, which are *verdant and flowery*, shall be pleasing to him.

So Dr. Shaw has told us, that a great extent of ground being allotted without their cities, for the burial of their dead, “each
“family has a proper portion of it, walled
“in like a garden; where the bones of their
“ancestors have remained undisturbed for
“many generations In these inclo-
“sures the graves are all distinct and sepa-
“rate whilst the intermediate space is
“either *planted with flowers*; bordered round
“with stone; or paved with tiles’.”

Mr. Blunt mentions an observation relating to this matter, which he made, and which I do not remember to have met with any where else: it is given us in these words.
“Those who bestow a marble stone over
“them, have it in the middle cut through
“about a yard long, and a foot broad; there-
“in they plant such kind of flowers as en-
“dure green all the year long; which seem
“to grow out of the dead body, thinking

’ P. 219.

“ thereby

“ thereby to reduce it again into play, though
“ not in the scene of sensible creatures, yet
“ of those vegetable, which is the next de-
“ gree, and perhaps a preferment beyond the
“ dust’.”

OBSERVATION CXVIII.

As they sometimes *plant* herbs and flowers about the graves of the dead, so Dr. Addison observed, that the *Jews of Barbary* adorned the graves of their dead in a less lasting manner, with *green boughs* brought thither from time to time²; might not this practice originate from the doctrine of the resurrection? perhaps from that well-known passage of a prophet, “Thy dead men shall live, together with
“ my dead body shall they arise. Awake and
“ sing, ye that dwell in dust: for thy dew is
“ as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall
“ cast out the dead,” Is. xxvi. 19; or if it was practised still earlier, might not this passage have some reference to that custom?

It is admitted, that the practice obtained among those that entertained no expectation of a resurrection, but in the language of St. Paul sorrowed as people that had no such hope¹. The ancient Greeks practised this

¹ Voy. p. 197, reprinted in the Collect. of Voy. and Travels from the Library of the Earl of Oxford, vol. 1, p. 547. ² P. 220, 221. ³ 1 Theff. 4. 13.

decking the graves of their dead, but it might notwithstanding *originate* from that doctrine, and be adopted by those of a different belief, as having something in it softening the horrors of viewing their relatives immerfed in the duft; and might be thought to be agreeable by those that entered into medical confiderations, as correcting those ill-fcented and noxious exhalations that might arife in those burial-places, to which their women, more especially, were frequently induced to go, to exprefs their attachment to the departed.

Maillet fupposes the modern Ægyptians lay *leaves and herbs* on the graves of their friends, *from a notion that this was a consolation to the dead, and believed to be refreshing to them from their SHADE*^{*}. This must indeed be admitted to be truly ridiculous—the fupposing a body covered with many *inches of earth* should receive any benefit from the thin shade afforded by a few leaves, fupposing the fense of feeling ftill continued, which fuperftition itfelf can hardly imagine.

But was this lively French gentleman fure of the fact? I should hardly think it of the Mohammedan inhabitants of the East, who believe a refurrection. As their prayers for the dead, as well as those of the Jews, have

^{*} Cette verdure n'est pas au refte, comme on pourroit peut-être le penfer, une offrande faite aux morts. Le motif de cet ufage eft encore plus ridicule, puis-que par-là on cherche à foulager les défunts, qu'on croit rafraîchir, en leur procurant de l'ombrage. Let. 10, p. 91.

a reference to the resurrection ; why may not these vegetable ornaments of their sepulchres be understood to relate to that doctrine ?

I leave, *at present*, the examination of the opinion of the Greeks and Romans, as to the strewing leaves and flowers on the graves of those they lamented ; but would, instead of that, enquire a little, whether there is any difference as to the plants made use of now *in the East* for this purpose, and, if there be, what those differences are. A speculation of some curiosity, and what must be amusing.

What the plants are that are used by the Barbary Jews Dr. Addison has not told us. All that he says on that subject is this. “ En-
“ quiring after inscriptions or epitaphs, and
“ though often in the burying-place for that
“ end, I could see none, nor any other state
“ about the graves than *green turf and boughs*.
“ But this remark respects the *Jews in Bar-*
“ *bary*, whom I conceive to come far short
“ of those of other countries, in this sort of
“ funeral pomp.” P. 220, 221.

But as it is a matter of some curiosity, and may be amusing to some minds, I would set down what I have met with in travellers, relating to this subject.

The women in *Ægypt*, according to Maillet, go, “ at least two days in the week, to
“ pray and weep at the sepulchres of the
“ dead ; and the custom then is to throw
“ upon the tombs a sort of herb which the
“ Arabs call *rihan*, and which is our *sweet*
“ *basil*.

“ *basil*. They cover them also with the “ leaves of the *palm-tree* ¹. If they use any other plants for this purpose in Ægypt, he has neglected to mention them.

Whether these precisely were the vegetables made use of by Augustus, when he viewed the remains of Alexander the Great in Ægypt, Suetonius has not informed us, in the account he has given us of the honours paid by this Roman emperor to the remains of that celebrated Greek ². We may imagine they were not, if he wrote with perfect exactness, since he speaks of that emperor’s strewing *flowers* on the coffin, and mentions nothing concerning herbs or leaves.

It is reasonable to believe, that other species of plants are made use of in Ægypt to adorn the sepulchres of their friends; but not all *indiscriminately*, for, according to Hasselquist, the mitre-shaped aloe, which grows in large quantities in the gardens of Cairo, is hung over the doors of those that have returned *in safety*, after having made a pilgrimage to Mecca ³, and it is unreasonable to suppose this plant should be used, as a token of their escape from death in this dangerous journey, and at the same time laid upon the tombs of those that could not escape.

Myrtle, however, which has been frequently used on joyous occasions, is made use of by

¹ Let. 10, p. 91*. ² In Vit. Aug. cap. 18. *Corona aurea imposita ac floribus aspersis veneratus est.*

³ P. 104.

these people of the East to adorn the tombs of the dead, for Dr. Chandler tells us, that in his travels in the Lesser Asia *he found some Turkish graves there, which had each a bough of myrtle stuck at the head and the feet*¹.

Rauwolff mentions the same circumstance, telling us, that at Aleppo *there grow many myrtles, which they diligently propagate, because they are beautiful, and remain long green, to put about their graves*².

OBSERVATION CXIX.

The general meaning of a comparison used by our Lord is obvious, when he said, "Wo
" unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!
" for ye are like unto *whited sepulchres,*
" which indeed appear beautiful outward,
" but are within full of dead men's bones,
" and of all uncleanness," Matt. xxiii. 27;
but it will appear with greater life, if we suppose, that the sepulchres about Jerusalem were *just then white-washed afresh*, which I should suppose is extremely probable, as the present Eastern sepulchres are fresh done upon the *approach of their Ramadan*.

Such is the account of Niebuhr, in the first volume of his Travels³. Speaking there of Zebid, a city of Arabia, which had been

¹ P. 200.

² P. 65.

³ P. 261.

the residence of a Mohammedan prince, and the most commercial city of all the low country of that part of Arabia, but which had lost much of it's ancient splendor in these respects, he adds, " that however *Zebid* makes yet, at " a distance, the most beautiful appearance " of all the cities of the *Tebama* (or low " country), which is owing to their clergy, " who have found means, insensibly, to appropriate a very large part of the revenues of the city and adjoining country to themselves and the mosques. From thence " have arisen a multitude of mosques and " *kubbets*, which at that time, when *Ramadan* was near approaching¹, had been almost " all white-washed. These *kubbets* are little " buildings, built over the tombs of rich " Mohammedans, who pass for saints²."

The *Passover* was at hand when our Lord made this comparison, as is evident from the context, and therefore, it is likely they were just then whited afresh, when the season for such rainy and bad weather as is wont to wash off these decorations was just over, and the time was at hand when Israel were about to assemble to Jerusalem at their national so-

¹ Which is a kind of Mohammedan Lent, followed by a festival, as Lent with us is followed by Easter.

² These *kubbets* are, I apprehend, not only built over the graves of them that pass for saints, but over the graves of other people who are wealthy, as, if I do not misremember, Niebuhr himself observes in other places of this volume.

lemnities, which were all held in the dry part of the year, or nearly so: the rain being at least *just* over at the time of the Pass-over, by the time of Pentecost it was gone in Judæa, and the feast of Tabernacles was observed before the rain was wont to return.

But whatever was the time of white-washing the Jewish sepulchres anew, we may believe it was often done, since to this day, the people of those countries have not discovered any way of so whitening these buildings as to make it *durable*.

OBSERVATION CXX.

The custom of placing provisions on, or near the graves of those for whom they mourned, is not only *very ancient*, but practised by nations remote from each other, referred to in the *Apocrypha*, and, it may be, adopted by the Jews, of the time between the closing of the writings of the Old Testament, and the appearance of those of the New.

One of the first observations that Olearius made, on the customs of the *ancient Russians*, relates to this practice. He had the curiosity, he tells us^{*}, to go on the 24th of May 1634, the day before Whit-Sunday, to that part of *Narva* which was inhabited by Russians, to observe the anniversary ceremonies of that

^{*} P. 11, 12, 13.

time, and their behaviour with regard to their departed relations and friends. “ The whole
“ burial-place was full of *Moscovite women*,
“ who had spread handkerchiefs upon the
“ graves, embroidered at the corners with
“ silk of various colours, upon which they
“ had set dishes full of roasted and fried fish,
“ custards, cakes, and painted eggs. Some
“ were standing, others kneeling, putting
“ many questions to their relations, pouring
“ out tears on their graves, and expressing
“ their affliction by most lamentable cries ;
“ but with so little steadiness, that they lost
“ no opportunity of speaking, and even laugh-
“ ing with such of their acquaintance as
“ passed by. The priest, followed by two
“ of his clerks, walked up and down the
“ burial-place, with a censer in his hand,
“ into which he put from time to time little
“ pieces of some gum to cense the graves.
“ The women gave him an account of the
“ relations and friends they wanted him to
“ pray for, pulling him by the surplice, in
“ order to gain the advantage of being first.
“ The priest performed these devotions
“ in a very perfunctory manner, and paid
“ so little attention to them, as hardly to
“ deserve the piece of copper money they
“ gave him, and by no means the provisions,
“ which the clerks took care to gather to-
“ gether for their master’s benefit.”

It is well known that the *ancient heathens*
practised something of this kind, from whence
it

it was early introduced into the *Christian church*. St. Austin mentions it, as well as the feasting at the graves of the martyrs, and seems to suppose these things were practised more in *Africa*, than in any other place of the world that he was acquainted with, which had received the Gospel. There, it seems, *the lower class of Christians thought these feasts and drinking-bouts were not only honourable to the martyrs, but of advantage to the common and ordinary dead buried there*¹. He complains of these managements in other places, with great warmth and life², and endeavoured to have them suppressed³. But I have not been fortunate enough to find any place in St. Austin, in which he supposes this was an ancient custom of the *Phœnicians*, derived from them to the people of *Africa*, and remaining to his time, which the celebrated expositor *Grotius* seems to insinuate, in his comment on Ecclus. xxx. 18.

It was certainly a *pagan custom*: and it might, in particular, be practised by the *Phœnicians*, and carried from them into *Africa*, with their *language*, which undoubtedly was

¹ August. Aurelio, Ep. 64, tome 2, p. 203, 204, ed. Bas. 1528.

² De Moribus Eccl. Cathol. lib. 1, tome 1, p. 538. Novi multos esse sepulchrorum et picturarum adoratores: novi multos esse, qui luxuriosissimè super mortuos bibant, et epulas cadaveribus exhibentes, super sepultos seipfos sepepulant, et voracitates ebrietatèsque suas deputent religioni.

³ Ubi supra, tome 2, p. 204.

derived from thence. But this practice was of much greater extent among the Gentiles, and was brought among the *Russians*, it should seem, from the *Greeks*, derived by them from their heathen forefathers. That it was known in the *East*, appears to be highly probable, if there were no other evidence for it, than that passage of the book of Ecclesiasticus just now cited, which evidently alludes to it: "Delicates poured upon a mouth shut up" (by bad health and continual sickness, of which he had been speaking,) "are as *messes of meat set upon a grave*."

Accordingly Sir John Chardin, in his manuscript note on this passage of Ecclesiasticus, observes, *that it was the custom of all the Gentiles, and especially in China, to place food in great quantities upon the tombs of their relations; and that many of the Oriental Christians do the same thing.*

But the great point I would enquire into here, is, whether the Jews, in the intermediate time, between the prophesying of Malachi and the apostolic age, (in which time, I apprehend, it is commonly thought many of the apocryphal books were written, and this of Ecclesiasticus in particular, whether, I say, the Jews of that time) adopted this custom of placing food on, or near the graves of their dead, by way of alms, which they hoped

* It is also plainly pointed at by the author of the book of Baruch, ch. 6. 27.—"They set gifts before them (idols) as unto dead men."

might be beneficial to the souls of those whose bodies were deposited there.

These words of *Ecclesiasticus* certainly determine nothing upon this point: the son of *Sirach* might allude to it as a well-known custom among the Gentiles, as well as if it had been practised at that time among those of his own nation; but it may be agreeable to enquire, whether traces of it may not appear elsewhere. What, it may be asked, is the precise meaning of Tobit iv. 17? "Pour out thy bread on the burial of the just, but give nothing to the wicked." Doth this zealous old Jew direct his son, to send provisions to those families only of his nation that mourned the death of relations that were *good* people; or doth he direct them to set food, by way of alms, on, or by the grave of a good man from time to time, for the benefit of the departed soul?

Our translators understood it in the first sense; and it is certain something of that kind was practised among the ancient Jews, as it is now among some of the Eastern people¹; but it may be, at least, as well translated, "Pour out thy bread on the sepulchre of the just:" and if this translation is allowed to take place, it would prove that the Jews were supposed, by this writer, to show their respect to the dead at that time, in the way the Russians of the last century did.

¹ See Observ. vol. 2, ch. 6, obs. 55.

And to make this translation appear more probable, it may be observed, in the first place, that the word *ταφος*, used in the Greek, in which this book is written, will not be found, I apprehend, to have been used of the *time or act* of interment, any where in the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament, or in any of the apocryphal books written in that language; but of the *place*. Lexicographers indeed tell us, it is used in such a sense as our translators have put upon it here; but it doth not appear to have been used in such a sense by any of these *Hellenistic* writers.

Secondly. The Jews of that time seem to have imagined, that the actions of the *living* might be made profitable to the dead: at least the author of the second book of Maccabees appears to have thought so. For speaking of some of the Jewish nation who were slain in battle, under whose clothes were found things consecrated to the idols of the Jamnites, which things were forbidden to the Jews, he saith, by their law, he goes on and tells us, that when Judas “ had made a
“ gathering throughout the company, to the
“ sum of 2000 drachms of silver, he sent
“ it to Jerusalem to offer a sin-offering, doing
“ therein very well, and honestly, in that he
“ was mindful of the resurrection, (for if he
“ had not hoped that they that were slain
“ should have risen again, it had been super-
“ fluous and vain to pray for the dead;) and

“ also in that he perceived that there was
“ great favour laid up for those that died
“ godly. (It was an holy and good thought.)
“ Whereupon he made a reconciliation for
“ the dead, that they might be delivered from
“ sin.” 2 Macc. xii. 40—45.

If they imagined *sin-offerings* might be beneficial to the *dead*; they might as well believe, that the giving of *alms* might produce something of the same salutary effect.

Thirdly. We find, accordingly, that the Mohammedans, as well as the Christians of the East, (of whom Sir John Chardin speaks in his manuscript note on Ecclus. xxx. 17,) have adopted this practice : for in his printed description of Persia, he says, “ People of the
“ middling and lower ranks of life begin to
“ visit a sepulchre eight or ten days after (the
“ interment), and the *women in particular*
“ never fail to do it. The burial-places are
“ always full of them, especially at some
“ holy seasons, more especially in the evening or morning, having their children
“ with them, both great and small. There
“ they set themselves to lament the dead,
“ with cries and tears, beating their breasts,
“ tearing their faces and their hair, intermingled with long recitals of their former conversations with the deceased, and
“ the constant burthen of these lamentations
“ is, Rouh! rouh! soul! spirit! whither art
“ thou gone? wherefore dost thou not con-
“ tinue

“ tinue to animate this body? And then, Body!
 “ wherefore didst thou die? didst thou want
 “ gold or silver, garments, pleasures, the tender
 “ caresses (of those near to thee)? and such
 “ like impertinences. Their female friends
 “ comfort them, and then carry them away
 “ with them, leaving sometimes *offerings of*
 “ *cakes, fruits, sweetmeats, which are, they say,*
 “ *for the guardian angels of the sepulchre, to ren-*
 “ *der them favourable to the deceased*’.”

Authors that speak of the Eastern people’s visiting the tombs of their relations, almost always attribute this to the *women*; but it should seem, by this passage, that the *men* visit them too, though not so frequently as those of the other sex, who are wont to be more susceptible of the tender emotions of grief than the men, and at the same time think propriety requires it of them, whereas the men commonly think such strong expressions of sorrow would misbecome *them*. Accordingly we find, that some *male friends* came from Jerusalem, to condole with *Mary and Martha*, on account of the death of their brother *Lazarus*, who, when they supposed that her rising up, and going out of the house, was with a view to repair to his grave to weep, “ followed her, “ saying, She goeth unto the grave, to weep “ there.” John xi. 31.

It is no wonder that they thought her rising up in haste was to go to the grave, to weep

* Tome 2, p. 387.

there, for Chardin informs us in the same page, *that the mourning there doth not consist in wearing black clothes, which they call an infernal dress, but in great outcries, in sitting motionless, in being slightly dressed in a brown or pale habit, in refusing to take any nourishment for eight days running, as if they were determined to live no longer, &c.* Her starting up then, with a sudden motion, who, it was expected, would have sat still, without stirring at all, and her going out of the house, made them conclude it must be to go to the grave to weep there, though, according to the modern Persian ceremonial, it wanted five or six days of the usual time for going to weep at the grave: the *Jews*, possibly, might repair thither sooner than the *Persians* do; if not, they could not account for this sudden starting up any other way.

But to return from this digression.—If the Jews in the East readily adopt other usages of Eastern mourning, if they deck the graves of their dead with green boughs, as has been taken notice of under a preceding observation, it cannot be unnatural to suppose, they might adopt the custom too of leaving *bread, or other eatables, in their burial-places*, in the time of *Tobit*, though it may now be seldom, if ever done: since it should seem, from the manner of speaking of Sir John Chardin, the modern Persians now practise it, however not often, but rather *sparingly*.

The

The Christians too of that country seem to practise something very much like it, if not altogether the same, according to Dr. Russell, who tells us¹ they “are carried to the grave on an open bier; and besides many appointed days, when the relations go to the sepulchre, and have mass said, and send victuals *to the church* and poor, many of the women go every day for the first year, and every great holiday afterwards.” This sending victuals to the church, seems to come very near the placing eatables on the tombs of the dead; if the expression is not designed directly to convey that thought to the mind.

He does not say exactly the same thing of the Jews of Aleppo, but he tells us concerning them, that “they have certain days, wherein they go to the sepulchres; and the women, *like those of other sects*, often go there to howl and cry over their dead relations².” How far the conformity of those other sects is carried, we are not told, but probably it is very considerable.

Lastly. Such an explanation seems to agree best with the restriction in Tobit’s instruction to his son: “Pour out thy bread on the burial, or *tomb* of the just; *but give nothing to the wicked.*” For the widows and fatherless children of the wicked, might want to

¹ P. 130.

² P. 132.

have food sent them by their charitable neighbours, when overwhelmed with affliction, occasioned by the death of a wicked husband or parent, as well as others; but if this *bread* was considered as purging away sins, or recommending the departed soul to God, he might very well forbid his son's giving bread on that occasion, as it would be expressing an hope concerning the dead, that was not to be entertained. The best of men have their imperfections, and the giving of alms on *their* behalf might be supposed to purge away their guilt; but no alms, in his apprehension, would remove the guilt of an *heathen*, or an *apostate* from the law of Moses: to them no mercy, he might apprehend, could be expected to be shown.

St. Austin somewhere makes use of a like distinction, I think, in a case a good deal resembling what, I should suppose, it is not improbable *Tobit* had in view. I do by no means take upon me to justify the sentiment of this celebrated African bishop; I believe, on the contrary, it is by no means evangelical: the text he cites from the writings of St. Paul proves it to be wrong. "For we must all
" stand before the judgment-seat of Christ;
" that every one may receive the things done
" in his body, according to that *he* hath done,
" whether it be good or bad," 2 Cor. v. 10.
That HE hath done, not what *others may do*
after his death, in order to benefit him. But

as this was the best explanation of certain superstitious practices that obtained in his age, more especially among weaker, and less informed Christians, it is by no means an unreasonable supposition, that the same sentiment might arise in the mind of him who wrote the book of Tobit—arise from a similar practice, which seems to have obtained among the Jews of his time.

The pollution that was supposed to attend the touching of the dead, and also of their graves, according to the law of Moses ¹, may be thought to afford a strong objection to the supposing, they were wont to give such alms at the tombs of their friends, which I have been proposing as what, probably, was the meaning of Tobit; since this custom has been readily adopted not only by Christians, but Mohammedans too, who have the same apprehension, of the *impurity contracted by a dead body and a grave*, as the Jews had. So Sir John Chardin observes, in his description of Persia ², that *they never bury in the mosques, because, though the dead bodies have been purified, they notwithstanding look upon them as rendering every thing they touch impure, and the places in which they are deposited; yet, according to the next page, which I cited just now, they sometimes leave offerings of cakes, of fruits, and of sweetmeats, at the sepulchres of the dead.*

¹ Numb. 19. 16, 18.

² Tome 2, p. 386.

The Jews then might do the same in the days of *Tobit*, notwithstanding their notion that *the touching a grave renders persons and things impure*; it is certain it does not prevent their women's going *often* thither, to howl and cry over their dead relations.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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